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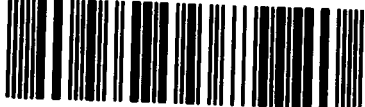
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Bryn T.R. Williams BSc Hons, PhD

THE EFFECTS OF EARLY 'NON ATTACHMENT' IN ADULTHOOD

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Open
University for the degree of Doctor of Clinical Psychology**

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DECLARATION

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree. The anonymity of participants has been preserved. The study follows the BPS Code of Conduct and Ethical Principle Guidelines. The work was carried out in accordance with Good Practice Guidelines and Ethical Committee's recommendations.

Signed Bryn Williams..... (candidate)

Date July 16th 1999.....

STATEMENT 1

This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references. A bibliography is appended.

Signed Bryn Williams..... (candidate)

Date July 16th 1999.....

Signed Margie Callan..... (supervisor)

Date Nov 17, 1999.....

STATEMENT 2

I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available for photocopying and for inter-library loan, and the for title and abstract to be made available to outside organisations.

Signed Bryn Williams..... (candidate)

Date July 16th 1999.....

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ABSTRACT

Early conceptualisations of Attachment Theory placed considerable emphasis on the importance of early experiences of relationships on development throughout life. Central to the theory is the notion that early experiences determine internalised representations of relationships and experience which subsequently affect the way individuals perceive themselves in relation to others. However, the evidence suggests that development is not so deterministic and that the impact of early adversity can be overcome through reparative experiences. The current study is part of a larger longitudinal investigation concerned with the impact of pure non attachment on development. The study reported in this thesis aims to consider the impact of early non attachment in adulthood, by exploring the sense that adults have made of their lives having been placed in institutionalised care in early childhood, with no opportunity to develop attachment, and who were then adopted or restored to biological parents. The meanings given to these experiences were explored by conducting a Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis of the accounts given by 15 participants using the Adult Attachment Interview. The results of the study suggest that the over all experience of non attachment did not prevent or severely inhibit development. However, six themes were identified in the study which highlight difficulties in people's ability to make sense of the past and how they function in the present. The findings provide further insight into the impact of early non-attachment in adulthood and suggest that internalised representations of relationships may have a lasting influence, although alternative experience can ameliorate their impact.

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1.0 Introduction

Tizard (1977) wrote:

“If to many people the idea of adopting a child after infancy seems strange, ... to anyone in touch with psychological thinking, it seems likely to lead to disaster. This is because of the widespread belief that early experiences are of crucial significance, and that early traumas are likely to lead to permanently damaging effects.” (pp.11).

Over the past fifty years considerable emphasis has been given to the importance of early life experiences as permanent and stable influences on an individual's adjustment.

Much of this work has been based on John Bowlby's (1951) theory of attachment which conceptualised the child's earliest experiences with a primary care-giver as highly significant in psychological well-being. Furthermore Bowlby (1951) argued that being deprived of a maternal figure during a 'critical period' within the first few years of life would lead to the development of a 'psychopathic character' rendering the individual unable to function in the social world around them. Later, Bowlby (1988), argued that attachment experiences affected different pathways that life might take, regarding the attachment experience as a more dynamic process. Furthermore, after forty years of research into Bowlby's original ideas, Smyer, Gatz, Simi and Pedersen (1998) suggest that development is not so 'deterministic', arguing that empirical studies demonstrate that reparative experiences mediated through personal and environmental factors may also influence adjustment.

A series of influential studies which have sought to establish evidence for the significance of attachment relationships on later adjustment have been concerned with the impact of institutionalisation on children's long-term development. Bowlby (1965) described maternal deprivation as 'not uncommonly almost complete in

institutions...where the child often has no *one* person who cares for him in a personal way and with whom he may feel secure' (as cited in Hodges, 1996, pp.64). Rutter (1981) later described this experience as being more one of 'privation' than 'deprivation', namely the absence of something which is needed rather than the removal of something previously there (Holmes, 1993). However, Hodges (1996) argues that many studies of institutionalised care have been characterised by 'gross physical and social deprivation and lack of stimulation' (pp.64); for example early studies by Spitz (1945) and more recent studies in Iran (Hakimi-Minesh, Mojhedi & Tashakkori, 1984) and Romania (Kaler & Freeman, 1994). In contrast the adults investigated in the current study were originally studied at the age of two and a half having been placed in institutionalised care between the ages of three and 22 months. The nurseries in which they lived provided excellent physical care, play facilities and stimulation (Hodges, 1996). Hodges (1996) describes their early experience as 'extraordinary' in comparison to children raised in their families because of their experience of 'non-attachment' (Lieberman & Paul, 1988). Furthermore Hodges (1996) suggests that given the positive environment in which they were raised they represent a group of institutionalised children who experienced 'maternal deprivation in a rather pure form' (pp.64).

The current study is part of a prospective longitudinal investigation (Tizard, 1977) concerned with understanding further the impact of early 'maternal privation' on development, and in particular its effects in adulthood. Whilst recent other studies have addressed adjustment outcomes (Jewitt, 1998; Hodges & Tizard 1989a&b) the current study is designed to understand the meaning adults give to their experiences

having been raised in institutionalised care during the ‘critical period’ and then later adopted or restored to their biological parents. In the following section it is intended to provide a context for this phase of the longitudinal study. First it is intended to consider attachment theory and the work of Bowlby before considering whether the impact of early maternal privation can be ameliorated by reparative experiences throughout development. Given that reparation was facilitated by leaving the nurseries, having been adopted or restored to biological families, it is also necessary to consider the outcomes of adoption experiences. This will include a detailed review of the earlier experiences of the adults who participated in the current study (Tizard, 1977).

The focus of the current study is not to consider adjustment outcomes, but to attempt to gain insight into the *meaning* the adults who were part of this ‘extraordinary’ group make of their experiences based on memories of early relationships. This will be achieved through an interpretative phenomenological analysis (Smith, 1996a) of the participants’ responses given to questions as part of the Adult Attachment Interview (George, Kaplan & Main, 1985). Part of the background to the study will include discussion of *meaning*, and in particular consideration will be given to hermeneutic philosophy as a way of conceptualising the sense people make of their lives. This will also provide a theoretical background and rationale for the decision to use a qualitative research design.

Bowlby himself is known to have described the early childhood experiences of the adults involved in the current study as ‘bizarre’ (Hodges, personal communication, 1999). Above all the research presented in this thesis represents a rare opportunity to

contribute to a unique longitudinal study designed to understand the long-term effects of 'pure non-attachment'.

2.0 Background to the Study

2.1 Early studies on the impact of institutionalised care and maternal privation on adjustment

As suggested by McCall (1999), early specialists in child care have held serious reservations about the plight of children removed from their families and raised in institutional care (Freud & Burlingham, 1944; Spitz, 1945). However, McCall (1999) adds that this 'grave warning' did not become 'gospel' until the publication of John Bowlby's WHO report *Maternal Care and Mental Health* (Bowlby, 1951). Bowlby was concerned with the psychological damage that children may suffer, even in conditions where their physical care was good. In particular he considered the disruption of the special mother-child bond needed for healthy psychological development to be of considerable importance. Bowlby's work was conducted in a post war political climate in which government were encouraging women to return to their traditional role in the home. From his own work of 44 delinquents in institutionalised care he concluded that maternal privation placed the child at an elevated risk of experiencing cognitive and language difficulties, emotional and behavioural problems, including anti-social behaviour as well as problems forming emotional relationships with others. This he referred to as the 'psychopathic character' (Bowlby, 1951).

Bowlby's (1951) report was supported by studies that highlighted the adverse impact maternal deprivation appeared to have on children's development. For example, Spitz

(1945, 1946 a&b) compared a group of infants in the first year of life living in extreme deprivation in an institution and compared them with a group of same age infants that were living in institutions where they were cared for by their mothers. He reported that the deprived infants experienced long-term emotional and physical regression compared to the infants raised by their mothers, and concluded that it was the absence of the mother in the former group that was causing the developmental problems rather than the environment per se in which they lived. Despite criticism of Spitz's work (Pinneau, 1955) on methodological grounds, his studies were influential in highlighting the adverse consequences of maternal deprivation.

Further evidence to support Bowlby's position came from the work of Goldfarb (1955) who studied the cognitive and psychosocial impact of institutionalisation in children in orphanages in New York. He systematically investigated the adjustment of children aged under 10 years, who had entered institutionalised care as babies. He reported that the children experienced severe behavioural problems, were emotionally immature and all experienced difficulties in developing meaningful relationships. Studies of older children, aged 10 to 14 years who had also been institutionalised since early childhood, showed evidence of arrested adjustment. Behavioural and emotional problems were common and socialisation with peers was difficult. In addition he found deficiencies in speech and academic achievement. He concluded that the earlier the entry into institutionalised care the greater the likelihood of long-term adjustment difficulties.

At the heart of the debate over the impact of maternal privation on subsequent adjustment has been the development of attachment theory. Before going on to consider the relevance of adoption studies in our understanding of the long-term impact on adjustment let us first consider attachment theory in some detail.

2.2 Attachment Theory

The most influential writing on the subject of attachment in the twentieth century has been that of a British psychiatrist John Bowlby. We shall now discuss the development of his attachment ideas, address the evidence concerning the efficacy of his theory and consider the impact of attachment relationships into adulthood.

2.3 Bowlby's Theory of Attachment

Bowlby's theory of attachment emerged out of his early interest in psychoanalytic thinking. However, in seeking a theoretical understanding of attachment he rejected elements of orthodox psychoanalytic theory, namely the drive theory and object relations theory (Meins, 1997). Bowlby considered the psychological mechanism between the mother and child to be more important than the physiological (feeding and infantile sexuality), and was greatly influenced by his enthusiasm for ethology. Based on evidence of animal studies Harlow (1961, cited Meins, 1977) demonstrated that Rhesus monkeys showed a marked preference for the surrogate 'wire mothers' covered in terry nappy towel, compared to the 'wire mothers' with an attached feeding bottle (Parkes, Stevenson-Hinde & Marris, 1991). Furthermore, other naturalist studies (Lorenz, 1952 - cited Holmes, 1993) encouraged Bowlby to reject pure psychoanalytic theories as the basis of his attachment theory.

2.3.1 Internal Working Models

One of the central tenets in Bowlby's theory of attachment is the notion of the child developing attachment through an active and reciprocal process (Bowlby 1988), which emerges as internal working models for the child, and represents internalised representations based upon repeated patterns of experience (Holmes, 1993; Meins, 1997). He suggested that internal working models were comparable with the principles of cognitive therapy developed by Beck, Rush, Shaw and Emery (1979). In essence 'basic assumptions' made about the world by the child through repeated experience and interaction form fixed representational models of the world which impact upon future interpretation of social experience. As suggested by Meins (1997) internal working models are regarded as highly stable and resistant to change. She argues that Bowlby regarded the transmission of attachment patterns from generation to generation within a family as evidence of this stability.

2.3.2 Monotrophy

A further central feature of Bowlby's theory of attachment was monotrophy, which referred to the importance of attachment to a discriminant figure. This for Bowlby was typically the child's mother, and it is arguable that his ideas were influenced again by his interest in ethology (Rutter, 1981) and the political context in which he worked. However, Bowlby later recognised a hierarchy of attachment figures and objects, and suggested that fathers, grandparents, siblings and inanimate 'transitional objects' were equally important, and in some cases primary to the mother-child relationship (Holmes, 1993).

2.3.3 Attachment as a Developmental Theory

It is also important to consider that Bowlby's theory sees attachment as a developmental concept. Attachment theory is primarily categorised into three early developmental stages (Holmes, 1993). The first stage is argued to last between zero to six months in which the theory suggests the child cannot at first distinguish between people. The beginnings of interest and response to familiar faces around four weeks old marks some element of human interaction. The process of discrimination with a preference for the attachment figures evolves gradually after the first three months. For example, the child's responses, cries and facial expressions, are discriminated by the presence of attachment figures.

The second stage is argued to last between six months and three years and is characterised by the child using the attachment figure as a secure base from which to explore their environment. This is coupled with an increase in the child's autonomy in the environment given their developing motor and sensory skills (Holmes, 1993).

The third stage of the attachment theory takes place from three years onwards and is marked by the development of a reciprocal relationship between infant and attachment figure and is enhanced by the development of language. At this stage Bowlby argued that attachment theory becomes less important, as a general theory of social relationships becomes significant.

2.3.4 Sensitivity Period and the development of attachment

Bowlby's original ideas emphasised the importance of a 'sensitivity period', as described in the early years above, when attachment occurred and internal working representations of the world were established. Failure to accomplish this between the second and third year of life suggested psychosocial difficulties throughout life.

However, Rutter (1995) suggests that Bowlby, towards the end of his life, recognised that whilst early bonding was desirable, the evidence suggested that children could develop attachments after the sensitive period and that the effects of negative attachment experiences were neither fixed or irreversible.

2.4 Attachment Measurement and Classification

One important development within the attachment paradigm has been a belief that the theory can be operationalised and experiments have been designed to provide evidence for the model. This has also led to the theory being altered as certain elements have been refuted. Perhaps the most influential tool developed in the course of attachment research is the Strange Situation Test (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters & Wall, 1978). In summary the exercise involves a sequence of separations and reunions between child and care-giver and an adult stranger, unfamiliar to the child. It is argued that the child's behaviour in the Strange Situation reflects the internalised pattern of attachment experience based on earlier experience of interaction (Hodges, 1996). From the exercise different attachment classifications have been adopted which are currently regarded as definitions in themselves.

2.4.1. Attachment Classifications

Four types of attachment classification have been identified, or at least constructed, the first of which is secure attachment. First, Rutter (1981) suggests that the basis to *secure attachment* ('B') is 'active' and 'reciprocal interaction', which is characterised more by episodes of quality interaction than by the amount of contact. Second, in *avoidant attachment* ('A') the child attempts to minimise his need for attachment in order to protect himself from potential rejection, whilst at the same time maintaining distant contact with the attachment figure, whereby the relationship between the rejecting care-giver and the needy child is removed from consciousness (Holmes, 1993). Third, the *ambivalent attachment* ('C') involves excessive clinging to the care-giver, excessive submissiveness and episodes where the child becomes the care-giver to the attachment figure (Holmes, 1993). Holmes argues that the anger and fear of rejection become 'subjected to defensive exclusion'. The fourth classification represents a more recent development and is characterised by a range of confusing and bizarre behaviours such as freezing or engaging in stereotyped behaviours when the child is with their attachment figure. It is associated with children who have experienced trauma, even abuse (Meins, 1997).

2.5 Attachment and psychosocial adjustment

It has been suggested that Bowlby's theory considers internal working representations of the world to be highly stable. Rutter (1995) points out that attachment theory has placed considerable emphasis on the impact of early attachment relationships on the nature and quality of later relationships. In particular, secure attachments in childhood have been shown to predict positive behavioural outcomes. Sroufe and Waters (1977)

concluded that secure infants display competence in a range of individual and social skills as toddlers. Likewise Main (1994) argues that children secure with their mother at age one were more likely than other children to be socially integrated with their peers at age five, nine and 14.

Conversely children judged to be avoidant of their mothers at one year were more likely to victimise others, those considered ambivalent were more likely to be victimised, and those secure to their mother at one were neither victimising or victimised in later childhood (Troy & Sroufe, 1987). Similarly, Sroufe and Fleeson (1986) found that avoidant children at age one tend to be rejected by their teachers, ambivalent children tended to be babied by teachers, and secure children at age one were found to be treated matter of factly by teachers in middle childhood.

In addition to the evidence for the continuity of attachment style in childhood and adolescence, similar patterns have been found in adult relationships. The continuity of attachment characteristics into adult relationships has been presented by Weiss (1991). He suggests that 'certain relationships maintained by adults appear to possess the properties of childhood attachment' (pp.67). For example, in marriages ending in divorce, whilst both parties show considerable anger towards one another, an emotional bond continues to link the separating couple.

Further evidence concerning the affect of attachment on development relates to the inter-generational transmission of attachment characteristics. In particular Fonagy, Steele and Steele (1991) were able to predict with 70 per cent accuracy infant

attachment status using the Strange Situation technique based on their mother's Adult Attachment ratings during pregnancy. Of the insecure infants 73 per cent had insecure mothers, while 80 per cent of secure mothers had secure infants. As reported by Holmes (1993) other studies have established similar findings providing evidence that attachment is an influential and stable variable. Furthermore, Rutter (1995) suggests that secure early attachment 'seems to be associated with a greater capacity to be well functioning parents' (pp. 556).

2.6 Developmental Pathways to adjustment

Belsky and Nezworski (1988) argue however, that whilst attachment theory considers early interaction to be of critical importance, it is a misnomer to suggest that the child would be 'impervious to subsequent experience or that early attachment security would determine - in any undetermined fashion - the course of later development' (pp.5). Similarly Sroufe and Rutter (1984) suggest that attachment theory assumes that early attachment relationships do not inevitably affect later relationships, but that the child's internal representation of relationships determined by their early experience 'based on probability' predicts later expectations and behaviours in social interaction. Rutter (1995), encouraging consideration of the significance of other relationships in development, states 'Unfortunately, the attractiveness of attachment theory has meant that there has been rather a neglect of these other features (relationships), together with an implicit tendency to discuss relationships as if attachment security was all that mattered' (pp.557).

Rutter (1993) suggests that studies on the impact of psychosocial adversity have concluded considerable variability in people's adjustment. He argues that even with the most 'dreadful experiences' (pp.626) it is common to find a group of people who escape long-term psychological difficulties; this he refers to as '*resilience*'. Similarly, Rutter (1990) considers protective factors as important in understanding individuals' responses to shared experiences. First, he argues that reduction in exposure to a psychosocial adversity is in and of itself protective. Second, the ability to minimise the impact of 'negative chain reactions' following adversity is protective. Third the individual's ability to use secure and supported relationships with others at times of adversity is also protective. Overall he considers protective factors to be mechanisms by which people cope with life experiences.

In addition to the environmental influences which may alter a developmental course, Sroufe, Fox and Pancake (1983) have suggested that attachment theory has traditionally ignored the impact of the individual's own temperament in the adjustment outcome. In disputing the dominance of the dyadic attachment relationship over the individual's temperament, they present evidence suggesting that the secure attachment with one parent shares only a limited association with attachment to a second parent. Furthermore, they argue that individual negative emotion is associated with insecure attachment and that temperament is one further important factor which influences the development of attachment and subsequent adjustment. Longitudinal adoption studies have played an important role in examining the impact of early adversity across the life-span, and in particular for assessing the impact of compensatory mechanisms which ameliorate the impact of such adversity.

2.7 Studies of adoption and the impact of adverse early childhood experience on adjustment

Adoption studies and the effects on adjustment have contributed significantly to our understanding of the long-term consequences of maternal privation in early childhood. Maughan and Pickles (1990) argue that adoption studies provide natural experiments for assessing the impact of early interruption of relationships on subsequent development. Likewise Smyer et al., (1998) argue that adoption is one 'potential early life stressor' (pp.191) that may illustrate the significance of maternal privation on development. Whilst there are a number of studies that consider the impact of adoption in the developmental years only a limited few concentrate on adulthood. The scope of the current report does not allow for an exhaustive critique of the evidence, therefore David Howe's review of adoption patterns (Howe, 1998a) is referred to as an appropriate account in addition to specific references to particular adoption studies.

Howe (1998a) concludes that the outcome for children who are adopted as infants appears very good. This includes children adopted before the age of 6 months into a safe and stable family environment, and who are known not to have experienced long term separation from a primary care giver. This is even though as suggested by Bohman and Sigvardsson (1990), many adopted children come from socio-economically disadvantaged parents, with histories of drug and alcohol misuse, mental illness and family disruption.

Howe (1998a) states that outcomes in adoption studies have been assessed using a range of qualitative and quantitative methodologies and have considered factors such

as physical development, cognitive ability, social, emotional and behavioural development, mental health, and levels of satisfaction reported by child and adoptive parents. Brodzinsky and Schechter (1990) and Triseliotis, Shireman and Hundlebury (1997) conclude that children adopted as babies are not dissimilar to the general population of children, including those matched on the socio-economic status of adoptive families. Furthermore, on measures of psychosocial functioning children adopted as babies are more adjusted than children raised in biological families with adverse social and familial characteristics, and when compared to those children raised in care.

Similarly Defries, Plomin and Fulker (1994), based on evidence from the Colorado Adoption Study, suggest that few differences are found between adoptees and non-adoptees and the differences that are found account for only a small amount of the variance. Adolescence is considered the most difficult time for the adopted children, particularly boys who experience elevated levels of behavioural problems and social relationship difficulties.

Maughan and Pickles (1990) considered the impact of early childhood adoption from the National Child Development Study, comparing adopted children with illegitimate and legitimate children living with their own families. The follow-up at age 16 suggested that the adopted children were more adjusted than the illegitimate group, but less so compared to the legitimate group. Peer relationships were once again found to be a particular issue for some adopted children. Similar patterns were found

at age 23, but again the male adoptees were found to be less stable in employment and trends in the data suggested higher incidence of breakdown in romantic relationships.

Smyer et al., (1998) have recently published the first prospective longitudinal study of the impact of early adoption and outcomes in adulthood, ranging from 28 to 84 years of age. They conclude that few differences existed between the adults who had been adopted as infants and the non-adopted comparisons. In particular they found that a supportive socio-economic environment played an important mediating role in the amelioration of early disruption in relationships.

Howe (1998a) argues that children placed with adoptive families at a later age present a more complex picture. He suggests that preceding adoption the children have a history of relationships and have formed a behavioural style and begun to form a personality. Prior to adoption many of the children have experienced abuse and neglect as well as the more general issue of rejection from their early primary caregivers. Thoburn (1991 cited Howe, 1998b) argues that late adopted children are more likely to experience a breakdown in their adopted home compared to early adopted children.

The evidence of Tizard's adoption follow-ups of children placed for adoption or restored to biological parents up to age 7, suggests that physical and intellectual recovery is possible. Howe (1998b) in his review suggests that 'many, but by no means all, experience insecurity, anxiety, and relationship problems with peers'. (pp.9). We have thus far considered the impact of adoption on later adjustment. In the context of

the current study it is important to consider in more detail the impact of early institutionalisation and the effect of subsequent adoption, or restoration to the biological family. This will be achieved by examining the history of the children involved in Tizard's original study of ex-institutionalised care. Based on a review of Tizard's early work it is also possible to provide a context in which the adults considered in the current study were raised and the impact of their experiences on development (Tizard & Joseph, 1970; Tizard & Tizard, 1971; Tizard & Rees, 1974; 1975; Tizard 1977; Hodges & Tizard, 1989a&b).

2.8 Review of Tizard's early studies of institutionalised care and adoption

Tizard's studies represent a unique prospective longitudinal investigation into the consequences of early non-attachment, on the adjustment of 65 children age two to 16 years. The children were first identified from a cohort of children who had been placed in institutionalised care as babies before the age of four months, and who had remained in care until they were at least 22 months (Tizard & Joseph, 1970). All of the children remained in care until they were adopted or restored to a biological parent between the ages of two and seven years. They were followed up in studies at age four and a half (Tizard & Tizard, 1971; Tizard & Rees, 1974, 1975), then at age eight (Tizard, 1977), and most recently at age 16 (Hodges & Tizard 1989a&b).

2.8.1 The early context in the nurseries

Perhaps one of the most important characteristics of the institutions in which the children lived was that, despite more than an adequate level of child care staff, the children received very little continuity of care. By the age of two each child had

experienced on average twenty-four different care-givers who had been responsible for their care for at least a week. The infants lived in 'family groups' including six children and a rotating staff group which was largely made up of nursery nurses in training for their Nursery Nurse Examination Board (NNEB) qualification. The groups of six children were observed to be, some aggressively, competing for attention from the nurses. At the same time the nurses were actively discouraged from forming close relationships with individual children and, as Hodges (1996) suggests, life for the children was 'utterly unlike an ordinary family' (pp.65). A group of children raised by their biological families throughout their early childhood were recruited as a comparison group.

Observations of the children at age two suggested that whilst there was no clear evidence of behavioural disturbance their relationships with other people were different from those of children raised in a family. Hodges (1996) suggests that the children showed 'insecure patterns in their attachment behaviour' (pp.67); the children were indiscriminate about seeking affection from any available nurse and were shy and nervous of complete strangers. This contrasted to the comparison group who were clearly attached to three or four primary care-givers and were reasonably comfortable in the presence of strangers.

2.8.2 Observations at age four and a half years

The second phase of the study investigated the children at age four and a half.

Twenty-four of the children had been adopted, 15 had been restored to their biological

who were restored had not received regular contact with parents during institutionalised care. By the age of four and a half the adopted children were no longer observed being clinging and seeking familiar figures, and the restored children remained unsettled as their mothers and/or fathers were ambivalent about the child's return and reportedly threatened the child with return to the institutions. The majority of the adoptive mothers reported that they felt their child was deeply attached to them and the adopted group had the lowest number of behavioural problems. Both adopted and restored children were reported to be more 'over' friendly to strangers than the comparison children raised in families, and had more behavioural problems than the family raised children. Those children who remained in institutionalised care were reported not to care about any one person and were described as immature and attention seeking compared to those who had been adopted.

2.8.3 Observations at eight years

With the exception of eight children, all the children studied at age two and a half were no longer in institutionalised care at age eight: twenty-five were adopted; three were in long-term foster placements; and thirteen had been restored. The family raised children were studied again for the purposes of comparison. The majority of adoptive mothers, like the mothers in the comparison group, reported that they felt their children were significantly attached to them. It was observed that the adopted children were overtly physical in their relationship with the adoptive parent. This appeared to be welcomed by the adoptive parent and described as 'cuddliness'. Whilst about a third of the adopted group were said to be friendly to strangers, they were overall less indiscriminate in their relationships with adults, particularly when hurt or upset. In

contrast the development of close relationships between restored children and their parents was less apparent. In addition, parents of the restored children reported difficulties in feeling attached and close to their children. One of the conclusions made at the age eight follow-up suggested that adoptive parents were more stable, dyadic, middle class couples, who were committed to accepting dependency and were willing to provide stimulation and affection.

Whilst the behavioural problems at home were similar for the adopted, restored and family reared children, the school context was more problematic. Whilst both the adopted and restored groups experienced problems compared to the family reared group, the behaviour problems of the restored group were particularly marked. Teachers reported attention seeking behaviour, restlessness, disobedient and quarrelsome behaviour and poor peer relationships.

2.8.4 Observations at age 16 years

The last follow-up preceding the current study at age 30 was at age 16 years. The family relationships for the adopted children appeared satisfactory for both parents and adopted adolescents. The overt physical cuddliness was no less apparent for the adopted children than it was for the family raised adolescents. In addition the adoptive parents regarded the relationships as closely attached. In comparison the restored group continued to experience difficulties in family relationships. The restored adolescents were less attached and where there were siblings, these relationships appeared somewhat more positive. The restored adolescents wanted to be less

engaged with their parents and identified themselves less with their families compared to the adopted and family raised groups.

When considering relationships outside the family however, there appeared to be very little difference between the adopted and restored groups in relation to the comparison group who had been reared by their biological families. As had been observed at age eight behaviour problems in school and poor peer relationships were common for the children who had been in institutionalised care. Whilst the indiscriminate affection seeking from adults had disappeared, teachers perceived them to be overt in their seeking approval from adults. In addition, the apparent over-friendliness to adults at age eight by the institutionalised children, was significantly associated with unselective friendliness towards peers at age 16. Teachers, in addition to describing difficulties in peer relationships, suggested the ex-institutionalised groups were quarrelsome, irritable, less liked and more likely to be bullies than the family raised group. As suggested earlier, peer relationships played a significant role in adjustment in both the group and dyadic context (Parker & Asher, 1987; 1993).

In drawing conclusions together of the studies up to age sixteen, Hodges (1996) suggests that the children's experiences of institutionalisation up to and beyond age two may have resulted in an internal working representation of care-givers as 'unreliable, transient, arbitrary figures who are unlikely to provide affection or close attention' (pp.76). She argues that, subsequently, most adopted children were able to develop attachments to their parents, suggesting that their early experiences had not necessarily inhibited their ability to develop attachments. For many of the restored

children their experiences continued to mirror their time in the institutions, with a resulting outcome that was less positive. Yet, whilst adoption provided the opportunity for attachment relationships to form and for the parents to influence the child's internal working model of relationships, comparison with the family raised group suggests that influences of early institutionalisation remain. This was found particularly in the adopted child's, and more so in the restored child's, interaction in a wider social environment. Behaviour problems at school and difficulties in peer relationships were evident for the ex-institutionalised groups compared to the family raised children. Sroufe and Rutter (1984) have argued that adaptation at one stage of development may not be appropriate at a later stage, thus reflecting the child's inability to use the resources of the environment (such as peer relationships and appropriate child-adult relationships) to enable adaptation and subsequent adjustment (Hodges, 1996).

2.8.5 Observations at age 30

The most recent follow-up (phase one of the current study) suggests that in comparison to peers at age 16, the outcomes for the adopted group are favourable (Jewitt, 1998). However, the adopted adults did report increasing difficulties with their families, higher rates of police contact and a greater degree of self-reported aggression and self-sufficiency than the comparison group. In addition, trends in the data suggested that the adopted group experienced more difficulties than the comparison group in adjustment, suggesting that there are long-term difficulties as a result of early non-attachment. However, the result reflected considerable heterogeneity in both the adopted and comparison groups suggesting that individual

differences and other influencing factors beyond primary early childhood attachments are important.

2.9 Summary of background to Study

It may be suggested that whilst maternal deprivation in the first months of life does not inevitably lead to later adjustment difficulties, some adopted children do experience an elevated risk of social adjustment difficulties into adulthood. Furthermore, based on the evidence that children adopted after the critical period described by Bowlby (1951) tend to show greater adjustment problems compared to early adopted children, it may be suggested the earlier the opportunity to repair adverse early childhood experiences the more likely adjustment will be possible. As there is evidence that many children experience adoption positively and gain considerably in terms of psychological well-being, it may be argued that it is neither necessary nor sufficient to label adoption a potential risk factor for subsequent development. As suggested by Smyer et al., (1998) it is necessary to consider what takes place in the adoption process that places the child at risk.

Brondzinsky (1990) argues that the main conclusions from adoption research suggest that adopted children are at increased risk for adjustment difficulties. He accepts that many of the problems do not manifest themselves until early school age and persist throughout adolescence. Furthermore he argues that adopted children display a wide range of adjustment difficulties, with the majority of children appearing to cope 'quite well with the challenges, conflicts and demands of adoptive family life' (pp.23).

Implicit in his argument is an understanding that individual variation is considerable

even though the risk factor is common - institutionalised care during the 'critical period'.

Howe (1998b) argues that developmental outcomes are the product of a large number of forces and suggests three major influences which he categories as child effects, relationship effects and psychological interpretation. Child effects he refers to as individual characteristics such as hereditary factors, including temperament, neurobiological problems and behavioural history. Relationship effects relate to the quality of close relationships, with particular interest in the quality of attachment. Finally he refers to psychological interpretation as the meaning a person gives to their experience and the ways in which this affects relationships. It is particularly the latter issue which forms the basis of the current study.

3.0 Theoretical background to the study

Thus far we have considered the background of the effects of early attachment relationships and the long-term impact of institutionalisation. The current study aims to investigate the meaning that adults, who were adopted as children, give to their experiences based on their memories of early relationships. However, before considering the study in detail it is necessary to address the theoretical basis of the research. In particular it is necessary to explore the concept of 'meaning' as a way of conceptualising the psychological mechanisms implicit in the current study and to provide a foundation for the development of a methodology for the research.

3.1 Definition of Meaning

Hermeneutics has been developed as a general philosophy of human understanding and interpretation (Reason & Rowan, 1981). Historically, hermeneutics was concerned with establishing the correct interpretation of a number of ancient religious texts. This has been developed in the twentieth century by philosophers such Heidegger (1962) and Gadamer (1975) as a theoretical understanding of interpretation. It is argued that hermeneutics is a process through which people make sense of and give meaning to their lives. Reason and Rowan (1981) suggest that all understanding is hermeneutical in so far as it is determined by a place in time, given a certain history, and occurs within a particular culture. They suggest that meaning allows us to distinguish between an unattainable 'objective' and an interpretation which is 'intersubjectively valid for all people who share the same world at any given time in history' (pp.133).

Kockelmans (1975) suggests that this interpretative approach to social science provides 'canons' which are defined as ground rules which provide a structure for establishing valid and inter-subjective meanings. He also suggests that the search for meaning cannot be accomplished without the investigator taking responsibility for their understanding and interpretation of the investigative process. Any research methodology simply provides a structure for explicit and systemic investigation of a particular phenomenon.

Kockelmans (1975) provides five 'canons' to enable the search for meaning. First is the *autonomy of the object* which suggests that the meaning of the topic under investigation must be derived from it and not projected into it. The second canon is to make the *phenomenon maximally reasonable* which refers to the need to consider the complexity and history of the topic under investigation and to articulate these clearly. The third canon is *greatest possible familiarity* which requires the investigator to become familiar with the participants, their experiences and significant aspects of their lives. The fourth canon is *the meaning of the phenomenon for his own situation* which recognises the investigator's personal investment in searching for the meaning around a certain experience. Kockelmans argues: 'no one is really interested in understanding something that is totally irrelevant for himself and for the society in which he lives' (pp.86). The fifth and most significant canon is the *hermeneutic circle* which refers to the search for meaning being a dialectical process (Rowan, 1981). The investigator will approach the subject with preconceptions of a general understanding of the meanings given to an experience. As the investigative and interpretative process develops 'meaning' becomes clear and specific, ultimately leading to an understanding

which is enhanced when compared to the starting place. Hermeneutics, therefore, provides a sound theoretical basis and structure for understanding 'meaning', but also raises the question about how to achieve an understanding of the meaning people give to an experience based within different theoretical practices of research.

3.2 Epistemological approaches and the definition of meaning

The second half of the twentieth century has witnessed an important debate between two epistemological poles as to what constitutes 'warrantable knowledge' (Bryman, 1988; Henwood & Pidgeon, 1992). These two approaches are known as the 'experimental hypothetico-deductive - quantitative' and the 'contextual or interpretative - qualitative' approaches. The first has been the dominant paradigm in science and has been significant in the development of psychological thinking. The positivist hypothetico-deductive model is based on an assumption of universal laws of cause and effect and seeks to quantify the world in terms of facts which are objectively defined (Woolgar, 1996). In practice, understanding phenomena is determined by the verification or falsification of a theory or model, which is based on quantification by way of standardisation and measurement (Henwood & Pidgeon, 1992).

The second 'contextual' or 'interpretative' paradigm is based upon the search for meaning or understanding, which has emerged as a result of a critique of the positivist approach to human understanding (Hammersley, 1989). This paradigm is based on constructing meaning and relies on description as well as explanation. The external reality is based on a representation and interpretation of a phenomena, and conclusions are presented as 'emerging concepts' rather than immutable empirical facts (Henwood

& Pidgeon, 1992). Sampson (1989) suggests that such deconstructionist approaches are associated with post-structuralist ideas that search for meanings in human understanding.

As suggested the research presented in the current study is concerned with investigating the meaning that adults, placed in institutionalised care and then adopted or restored to their biological parents as children, give to their experiences based on their memories of early relationships. From the different theoretical positions outlined above it may be argued that the search for meaning, the sense people make of their lives, is most appropriately placed in a qualitative epistemological approach. The aim of the study is not to verify or falsify a particular hypothesis, but to investigate the sense people have made of their experiences. Having considered the theoretical issues underlying different epistemological approaches the current study is, therefore, most appropriately suited to a qualitative design.

3.3 Qualitative Methods of Analysis - Theoretical Considerations

Within the social sciences there has been a proliferation in the development of methodologies for conducting qualitative studies in the past twenty years (Richardson, 1996). Although a comprehensive critique of all qualitative methods analysis is not possible given the scope of the current study, it is necessary to consider the appropriateness of some of the methodologies given the emphasis being placed on hermeneutics in this discussion.

Harre (1995) argues that within psychology social cognition has been one important area where researchers have moved away from observable behaviour to consider internal mental states. Within social psychology attribution theory, schema theory and attitude behaviour research are cited as examples of such developments (Smith, 1996a). However, Smith (1996a) argues that such approaches continue to share a commitment to quantification, thus relying on a belief to explore 'cognition' using coded numerical data as transformations of words.

Such approaches have been criticised by researchers who argue that verbal reports cannot be assumed to necessarily reflect underlying cognitions (Potter & Wetherall, 1987). Instead they suggest that verbal reports are significantly influenced by the context in which the conversation takes place. Potter and Wetherall (1987) argue that Discourse Analysis provides an appropriate methodology for analysing a participant's verbal response in relation to the context in which the response was delivered, for example in a research interview. In essence verbal reports are regarded as behaviours in and of themselves and should be the subject of analysis. Whilst the method is committed to qualitative methodology, Smith (1996a) suggests that the analysis becomes focused on the text itself rather than what it is communicating.

Other qualitative methodologies which overcome some of the above difficulties could be described as being in the middle ground between two extreme positions outlined above. Perhaps one of the most commonly cited example is that of Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Grounded Theory emerged as a result of dissatisfaction with quantitative methodologies in sociological research in the 1960s, and later to

psychological research in the 1980s (Pidgeon, 1996). Glaser and Strauss (1967) argued that the testing of theories restricted the relevance of what they described as the 'substantive content' of data. Grounded Theory was designed to build theory through an iterative process between written text (for example, verbal reports and archival documents) and qualitative interpretation by the researcher. Yet Smith (1998, verbal communication) argues that Grounded Theory typically produces descriptive qualitative account rather than theory. He also suggests that this methodology tends to focus on a macro analysis, which he argues is most appropriate to sociological research and less relevant to psychological research.

3.4 Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) (Smith, 1995a, 1996a&b) has been proposed as one qualitative approach to analysis that arguably adheres closely to the hermeneutic ideas and it is arguable that it provides a structure that meets the criteria set out in Kockelmans 'canons' of hermeneutic theory. Furthermore it is proposed as a qualitative method suited to psychological research because of its theoretical basis, the appropriateness of small clinical samples and the appropriateness of detailed analysis of individual reports.

IPA is based on two important theoretical positions. First it is concerned with phenomenology, which is concerned with an individual's perception or account of an event or experience (Smith, Jarman & Osborn 1999, Smith 1996a, 1995a). Smith et al., (1999) argue that relying on the individual's perception prevents any attempt to produce an objective statement about a particular experience. It may be suggested that

phenomenology and hermeneutics are both concerned with the individual's construction of meaning. The second position taken by Smith (1996a) is that IPA recognises the dynamic process involved in qualitative research. He presents symbolic interactionism as a core feature of IPA, suggesting that the 'meanings' obtained by the researcher can only be achieved through a process of interpretation. The aim of IPA is by definition for the researcher to produce an interpretation of a phenomenon as described by the participants. In essence to investigate the participant's view of a particular experience and to accept the influence of the researcher's interpretation of that experience in the research process.

In addressing the appropriate analysis for the current study, it was considered important that the research aim was supported by a theoretical position, namely hermeneutics, and that the methodology was appropriately related to the theory. IPA, although less well known in the field of qualitative research, is arguably a more modest, yet theoretically robust approach, and moreover is recognised as being appropriate to qualitative studies in psychological research. IPA is presented as a template for conducting research and the methodology has been operationalised (Smith et al., 1999). The technical application of the method in the current study will be presented in the methodology section.

3.5 Validity and Reliability of Qualitative Methods

One important issue in research, either quantitative or qualitative, is the responsibility of the researcher to demonstrate that the study is valid and reliable in so far as the methodology and interpretation of the evidence sufficiently reflects the subject under

investigation. Osborn and Smith (1998) argue that the exercise of sufficient rigour in order to establish the credibility of a study is considered to be no less important in qualitative research than it has traditionally been in quantitative methods. Smith (1996a) argues that internal coherence and the presentation of the evidence represent two ways of establishing validity in qualitative research. Internal coherence refers to the importance of whether the argument presented in the study is internally consistent and justified by the evidence. Presentation of verbatim evidence should be presented in order for the reader to consider the accuracy of the interpretation. A further suggestion presented by Yin (1989) concerning case study research, addresses the issue of independent audit as a way of enhancing validity, thereby providing access to an independent person to scrutinise the research process by establishing their own conclusions. There are other methods such as triangulation, involving using multiple sources of data and member validation, which involves asking participants to comment on the findings of the research (Smith, 1996a). The operationalisation of the validity and reliability checks for the current study are presented in the methodology.

4.0 Aims of the Study

The study is designed to explore the effects in adulthood of having been placed as children in institutionalised care in the context of non attachment. The aim of the study is to gain insight into the meaning adults give to their lives, by focusing on the sense they make of their experiences based on memories of early relationships. This will be achieved by conducting an Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, within a qualitative research paradigm, on the accounts participants give in the Adult Attachment Interview. Given the paucity of research concerning the outcomes in adulthood of early non attachment the study does not seek to answer specific questions nor attribute causality. However, the study aims to consider whether the early experience of institutionalised care, which prevented the children experiencing attachment relationships, affected people's perceptions of their lives in adulthood. Within psychological theory the study aims to consider whether internalised representations of relationships in early childhood affects the sense people make of their lives in adulthood.

5.0 Methodology

5.1 Design of the study

The study was designed to form part of a larger longitudinal research project which originated in 1970 when Barbara Tizard and colleagues studied a cohort of children who had been placed in residential childrens' homes and later adopted or restored to their biological families, as discussed earlier in this report. The current study forms part of the latest follow-up of this cohort at age 30. The main study, to which the current study is attached, was conducted in two phases. The first part included a comprehensive postal questionnaire to all adopted and restored people who could be traced, and focused on measures of adjustment and interpersonal relationships (Jewitt, 1998). As part of phase one participants were invited to be interviewed in order to examine attachment relationships in greater detail.

This current study forms part of phase two of the study which was specifically designed to investigate whether the adopted and restored children had been able to develop attachment relationships given their experiences of early institutionalised care. The Adult Attachment Interview (AAI) was administered, as discussed below, in order to generate attachment classifications (George et al., 1985). Phase two of the study represents a discrete aspect of the research and will be written up by Jill Hodges, who was involved in the 16 year old follow-up. In addition to the standard methods of analysing the AAI, the accounts given by participants of their experiences of institutionalised care and subsequent adoption or having been restored to their families was also considered an important and discrete area of study. **This area of study is reported in this thesis and is concerned with a qualitative analysis of the**

meaning the participants gave to their experience of interrupted attachment relationships in early childhood.

It is the intention to publish this phase and to collate all phases of the study at a later stage and for the integrated findings to be published.

5.2 Participants

Of the original 36 participants involved in the study at age 16, 22 were traced. Tracing was carried out by the tracing office at the MRC Children's Department at the Institute of Psychiatry, London. In the first instance participants were approached by letter at the last known address. Tracing was facilitated through contact at the last known address or General Practitioners using National Health Numbers.

Of the 22 participants who completed and returned the postal questionnaire 21 consented to take part in the follow-up interview. However, it was possible to complete only 15 follow-up interviews. Of the six who dropped out of the study at this stage, one moved to Russia, two moved and could not be re-traced and three declined to be interviewed when approached later.

Of the 15 participants interviewed 13 (86.7%) had been adopted by age 7 years and 2 (13.3%) had been restored to biological parents. With regards to gender 9 (60%) of the participants were male. With regards marital status nine participants (60%) were married with a further two (13.3%) people living with partners; the remaining four (26.7%) were single. Seven (46.7%) of participants had one or more children.

The occupations were coded within the Registrar General's Social Class Index (Office of Population Census and Surveys) of six categories from 'I' (professional) to 'V' (unskilled). One participant (6.7%) was classified in the professional class I, five (33.3%) in social class II, one (6.7%) in social class III non-manual, three (20%) in social class III manual and three (20%) in social class IV. Two (13.3%) of participants were unemployed and it was not possible to calculate OPCS classifications.

5.3 Procedures

5.3.1. *Ethical Issues*

Ethical approval for the study was sought from the Ethics Committee at Great Ormond Street Hospital for Sick Children and the Institute of Child Health, University of London, as part of ethical approval for the main study (appendix A). A number of important ethical considerations are discussed below.

Participants were identified using a four digit number that had been used throughout the longitudinal study. Names and addresses as well as other personal information was kept on a central register in a secure place. Participants' numbers were used to

identify all questionnaires, tapes and transcripts. The four digit numbers are those used in the main longitudinal study and have been maintained for ease of reference across studies.

Given the sensitive nature of the research, participants were approached through a personal private and confidential letter inviting them to contact Great Ormond Street Hospital about a study (appendix B). By withholding detailed information it was intended to protect participants from questions from family and partners should they have maintained an element of secrecy about their past. Confidentiality was strictly adhered to throughout the study. Appendix C contains a series of letters and an information sheet for purposes of recruitment to the study.

Informed consent to participate in the study was a requirement of ethical approval (appendix D).

5.3.2 Training for conducting Adult Attachment Interview and Pilot Interview

Given that phase two of the study was to be based on a standard formal interview it was necessary for the researcher to be trained to conduct the interview under the supervision of a qualified expert. The interview questions were taken directly from the original AAI (George et al., 1985). Although it was critical that the interview be conducted formally for the purposes of scoring the attachment questionnaire the researcher also had to rehearse the additional questions added by the research team pertaining to issues of adoption.

Training for the interview included the researcher becoming acquainted with the interview and, in particular, when to use the cues to elicit further information. As the AAI depends on a formal process it was necessary to learn the interview sufficiently in order for the interviews to be conducted as naturally as possible, with only minimal reference to the text.

The second stage of the training was to conduct one interview with a person unfamiliar with the AAI, but who was known to the researcher. This could not include a participant. It was also important that prior to the interview the pilot participant was aware of the purpose of the interview and was comfortable talking about their early childhood memories. A psychologist in clinical training was recruited and expressed their interest in being a pilot in order for them to become familiar with the AAI for professional purposes. The interview was conducted in the psychologist's place of work. The pilot participant agreed to the interview being audio-taped and transcribed by the researcher for the purposes of training only. It was also agreed that both the tape and the transcript would be destroyed on completion of the study.

The pilot was conducted exactly as it was intended to be in the research process, including the process of explanation and debriefing. The training requires the researcher to undertake the process of transcription, in order to become familiar with the importance of eliciting sufficient information in the interview and in the recording of a fully verbatim interview to be viable. The pilot interview was evaluated by the trainer and the researcher was then considered prepared to conduct the research interviews.

5.3.3 Research Interviews

Participants who agreed to participate in the study were later contacted by telephone or letter to discuss the interview process and to arrange an appropriate time and place for the interview to be conducted. All 15 interviews were conducted in the participants homes throughout the United Kingdom.

The format of the interview followed the protocol set out in the formal Adult Attachment Interview (AAI)(appendix E) . Debriefing was conducted at the end of the interview and the researcher was prepared, along with other people involved in the study, to provide on-going support should participants experience problems as a result of the interview. In addition, participants were informed that should they wish to discuss their adoption history they would be given access to the researcher who met them at age 16 who held their original research records. Participants were also assured of confidentiality and the allocation of a research number was explained.

Each interview was audio-recorded and a copy was produced. The original tape was stored in a secure place and the copy was given to transcribers trained to produce a verbatim transcript of the interview. The AAI requires replication of all pauses and hesitations in a totally verbatim transcript. Whilst this was not necessary for the current study, it was necessary in order to generate attachment classifications. The transcripts were then coded and analysed using a qualitative procedure, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, described below.

5.4 Measures

5.4.1 *Adult Attachment Interview (AAI)*

The Adult Attachment Interview (AAI) has been devised by George et al., 1995) as a tool for assessing the internal working models of adults with respect to their attachment, based on their own childhood experiences. The interview is devised in a semi-structured format for the purpose of eliciting memories of childhood relationships with attachment figures (appendix E). The AAI seeks to elicit:

1. The choice of five adjectives which most appropriately described the relationship between maternal and paternal attachment figures in childhood, these are followed with questions seeking specific illustrative memories.
2. Recall of memories of what participants did when they were upset or hurt as a child.
3. To describe which person participants felt closest to as a child, and why.
4. To consider whether participants experienced or felt rejection as a child by their attachment figures.
5. To consider why their attachment figures behaved the way they did towards them as a child.
6. To consider how the relationship with the attachment figures has changed over time.
7. To consider how early experiences have affected functioning in later life.

The interview is audio-recorded and rated on eight dimensions: loving relationship to mother; loving relationship to father; role reversal with parents; quality of recall; anger with parents; idealisation of relationships; derogation of relationships; and coherence of the interview.

From these ratings a classification of attachment is made on the basis of four categories:

I. Autonomous: Indicative of a well balanced representation of attachments. Based on a resolution of good and bad memories of early relationships.

II. Dismissing: Indicated by a tendency to dismiss the significance of intimate relationships by denying memories or by idealising relationships.

III. Preoccupied: Characterised by being preoccupied and overwhelmed by attachment issues.

IV. Unresolved: Defined by having unresolved feelings which may be affected by the death of, or abuse by, an attachment figure.

The four categories are related to the four Ainsworth categories of Secure-Attached, Insecure-Avoidant, Insecure-Ambivalent, and Insecure-Disorganised discussed in section 2 of this study (Main, 1994).

5.4.2 Research Diary

The research diary forms an important part of the qualitative research process (Torbert, 1981) in providing a post hoc account of the qualitative research process, which allows for reflections during the execution of the research to be incorporated into the presentation of the study (for abstracts of diary see appendix F). Reason and Rowan (1981) also suggest that the research diary provides an effect feedback loop which enables the research to address issues and questions which may repeatedly occur during the research process. From the conception of the study and particularly through the interview process a diary was maintained of the researcher's impressions

and questions. The material from the diary is presented where it enhances or gives significance to issues raised in the course of the research.

5.4.3 Demographic Information

Demographic information was collected from participants as part of phase one of the study on the postal questionnaire.

5.5 Method of Analysis

5.5.1 Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)

As suggested in section 3 the method of qualitative analysis for the study was selected on the basis of the theoretical background to the study. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (Smith et al., 1999) was selected because it has been developed with qualitative approaches to research specific to psychology; it has a comprehensive theoretical background, both in its grounding in hermeneutic philosophy and its adherence to the research process and social interactionism; and it is modest in its claims.

5.5.2 IPA Qualitative Procedure

Smith (1999 et al., 1995b) provides guidelines for the IPA, however he also encourages the researcher to adapt the model to fit the context of their research. In the following section a stage by stage description of the IPA is presented along with the operationalisation of the technique in the current study. In addition the process is illustrated from one participant in the study:

- IPA requires the researcher to become very familiar with the content of the transcript(s). The method is described as appropriate for one or more cases, and the process of analysis is identical for each case. Therefore, the 15 transcribed verbatim AAI interviews were prepared with page and line numbers. The transcripts were subjected to a first general reading during which the author became familiar with the text and reflected on ideas noted in the research diary at the time of the face to face interview.

5.5.2I. Individual Example: Case 0316

The participant 0316 interview, having been transcribed and printed with page and line numbers, was subjected to an initial reading. The relevant section of the interview for the purpose of illustration is presented as appendix G. (pages 10, 16-17, 28-29). During the initial reading *issues* emerging from the researcher's reading from the transcript were noted in the left margin. As illustrated in appendix G, in response to questions concerning the participant's memories of how they responded to being hurt, it emerged that they coped by being self contained. This is illustrated at reference (page & line numbers) (16,780; 17,845; 28,1395; 29,1472 - appendix G). A note was made in the research diary about the apparent level of self containment which appeared to characterise some of the participants.

- The IPA suggests that as the researcher works through each transcript on the first and second reading their responses to *issues* arising in the text should be noted down in left hand margin. At the same time, *themes* which appear to be emerging out of the interactive process between researcher and text, should be noted in the right hand

margin. In the current study during the first reading, and more systematically during the second reading, *issues* emerging from the text were noted in the left column.

Similarly *themes* which began to emerge from the researchers interpretation of the text were noted in the right hand margin.

As illustrated in the case example in appendix G for case 0316, the second reading of the transcript led the researcher to note in the right hand margin that 'being self contained' seemed an emerging theme.

- Smith et al., (1999) suggest at this stage to list emerging *themes* from the right hand margin onto a separate sheet and begin to look for connections between *themes*. They highlight the importance of providing a page and line reference for the theme in order to be able to provide verbatim evidence for the researcher's interpretation of the text. For the purposes of this study a separate coding sheet was prepared for each participant, on which *themes* emerging from the text were noted (appendix H). The data sheet included the participant's research number and gender. In addition the five adjectives elicited from the participant in the AAI for their mother and father were documented (appendix M and N). The main focus of the coding sheet was to describe the essence of a theme in the right column and provide page and line reference for verbatim examples of the how the *text*, developed into *issues*, which were then considered as *themes*.

As illustrated in appendix H. for participant 0316, 'coping by being self-contained' was listed and referenced on their data sheet (marked by * for the reader in appendix H).

Examples of themes included being self-contained within their parental relationship and in the face of peer relationship problems at school.

- Smith et al., (1999) suggest that the next stage of the IPA is to examine the *themes* on a case by case basis, looking for dominant *themes* which emerge from clustering related *themes* together. They emphasise that some of the *themes* will act as magnets drawing related *themes* together, thus creating a *super-ordinate theme*. Smith et al., (1999) suggest developing a master list of themes. For the purposes of the current study a separate coding sheet was prepared for the *themes*, see appendix I for Master Theme List. Working through each participant's coding form and transcript, *themes* were transferred onto an IPA Theme coding sheet (appendix J represents the detailed analysis of the themes, and is presented as evidence for the research findings).

Essentially this involved moving from a case level to a thematic level. From one emerging *theme* each participant's list was considered to see whether the *theme* was present or not. This process was repeated until *themes* with related sub-headings were exhausted. Each theme was referenced with the participant's number, and page and line reference.

As illustrated in appendix J an IPA Theme coding sheet (Theme 4) was established under the working title of 'Emotional self containment and self reliance'. Participant 0316's *theme* of '*confident being secure enough not to need support having been rejected*' was entered onto the Theme Coding Sheet with the appropriate references. Participants' numbers were also entered on the Master Theme List as illustrated in appendix I.

- Smith et al., (1999) finally consider the translation of *themes* into a narrative account of the research summary. They encourage the use of citations from the original text (aided by the referencing process) in order to produce a compelling and evidence based interpretation of the findings. Therefore, in the results section the *theme* referring to self containment is discussed incorporating evidence collated from participant 0316.

5.6 Validity and Reliability

In order to address the validity and reliability of the current research the following measures were adopted. First, in preparing the write up of the study consideration was given to providing a transparent account of the research process. In order to address the internal coherence of the research, theory and background material to the study were presented, as well as illustrations of the methodology and presentation of raw data with the interpretation. Verbatim extracts are presented in the results section along with an appropriate reference in order for the reader to scrutinise the interpretation and for the researcher to be able to identify evidence within the context of a whole interview.

In addition an independent audit system was established whereby an Educational Psychologist, with a research qualification, consented to audit the process of the research from the audio-tape, to the transcription and through the process of analysis. A form detailing the progress of each participant was prepared and completed by the psychologist (appendix K). Perhaps of greater significance was the commitment from

a lay-person to undertake a thorough reading of a transcript and to generate a theme coding sheet for participant 0317 (appendix L). Their coding sheet was compared with the researchers coding sheet (appendix H - case 0317). The comparison suggested an acceptable level of agreement between raters. As suggested by Osborn and Smith (1998) the purpose of conducting this process is not to produce a single definitive theme list, nor to establish statistical measures of inter-rater reliability, but rather to provide credibility that a type of analysis and has been presented and is supported by an interpretation of the data by a third party.

6.0 Results

Having completed the IPA on the 15 transcripts of the Adult Attachment Interview (AAI), six themes were generated by the author on the basis of detailed analysis, with Theme 2 having three sub-themes. More specifically the themes emerging from the analysis reflect the author's interpretation of the meaning the participants gave to their experience of early relationships following a period of institutionalised care. In the following section each of the themes will be presented, illustrated by extracts from the accounts given by the participants. Appendix I (Master Theme List) summarises the themes identified in the research and includes reference to the participants. It is beyond the scope of the thesis to provide an exhaustive account of each person's experiences and citations from the transcripts are given as illustrative examples only.

6.1 Theme 1: The impact on development of early institutionalisation followed by integration into family life.

The significance given to the impact of early institutionalisation and subsequent integration to family life on development represents one of the themes emerging from the research and was found explicitly in 12 of the interviews (appendix J: Theme 1). The theme divides into two areas: the perceived impact of being raised in a children's home in the early years, and the perceived effect of adoption on later adjustment.

The impact of early institutionalised care on the participants was reflected in a judgment about the extent to which this experience had had a detrimental effect on them as members of a family and as individuals. This was particularly acute for those who had experienced problems throughout their early lives and represented an attempt to make sense of why they had adjustment difficulties. For example one man who,

because of his hearing impairment, had been adopted at age six and a half, had experienced a turbulent relationship with his adoptive parents and suffered from episodes of depression. He sought to attribute his difficulties to early institutionalisation:

"it was very up and down...yeah quite a few problems in my early childhood and even up to my teens...I'm not sure quite where it all stems from....but there was er very big problems in my childhood which stems from a period I know nothing much about unfortunately...which nobody knows much about" (0902: 3,114).

The interpretation given to this theme was also reflected in the author's diary where it was recorded that the interviews had given the impression that *"a reality or spoken truth exists that negative early experience leads to later problems, almost as though people had read Bowlby's early work"* (Diary: February 12th, 1999).

As well as the perceived negative impact of early institutionalisation, the process of adoption was also regarded as somewhat detrimental. One man argued emphatically:

"The only setback I can really think of is erm me being adopted in the first place. It was like going back to square one" (0317:19,905).

This issue was further reflected in the meanings people gave to perceived losses of closeness and love which they felt they had been unable to achieve as a consequence of having been adopted. For example one woman argued in relation to her experience of adoption:

"I've always needed to feel that whatever relationship I've had with anybody, I've actually needed to feel that I'm loved more than anything...and constant reassurance of that" (0313:23,47).

However, it would be incorrect to suggest that all of the participants had a negative perception of their early experiences. Indeed some even suggested that their adoption was a positive experience which left no long-term detrimental effects. One of the

women in the study who had very positive memories of her adoptive parents (who were dead at the time of the interview) commented:

“I don’t feel my coming to my family late sort of altered it in any way because I don’t think I missed out on anything you know in the very early life, and it was so natural at home with my mum and dad” (0309:30,15).

Furthermore, a man who was restored to his biological father suggested his experience of early care actually prepared him well in life for being disciplined and well organised.

In summary, for a number of the participants their behavioural and emotional problems and their need for emotional intimacy were attributed to their experiences of early care, both in the homes and with their families, and also attributed to a belief that such experiences (at least in some cases) had had a detrimental impact on their development.

6.2 Theme 2: Meaning of relationships with parents

Given that the AAI seeks explicit answers to questions about parents, the next theme is concerned with issues which emerged from the interviews about the meaning given to relationships with mothers and fathers. The adjectives elicited in response to the AAI to describe the relationship with parents provides a useful insight into the sense people made of their early relationships with their mothers and fathers and are presented respectively as appendices M and N. Theme two is divided into three sub-themes addressing relationship with mothers (appendix J: sub-theme 2a), relationship with fathers (appendix J: sub-theme 2b), and issues concerning the restoration of relationships in early adulthood (appendix: sub-theme 2c).

Theme 2a: Meaning given to relationships with Mothers

Within the AAI interview participants were asked to provide memories of incidents which illustrated the adjectives they had selected. Two sub-themes were identified: Whilst some people suggested their childhood relationship with their mothers was turbulent and difficult, others described their mothers as caring and loving (appendix J: Theme 2a).

The less positive relationships with some mothers were reflected in a number of ways. Some of the participants believed that their mother regretted their 'choice' of the child they had adopted. One mixed race man who was adopted by a white couple and who never felt his parents wanted him commented:

"I never felt that my mother was pleased with her choice, she chose me I didn't chose my parents...and I've always felt she regretted adopting me" (0318:7,16).

Others perceived themselves as commodities for their parents to own, for example one of the women said:

"I just felt like an accessory...it was kind of like A. is this and that and the other when out of the house, but at home I didn't actually feel that's what was put across. (0313:4,10).

Another of the women suggested:

"...if we were in the street and I remember somebody saying oh that's your adopted child and me mum says no that's not adopted she's mine...she took it to extremes even on my wedding day she didn't like me having a close relationship with anybody else" (0322:2,92).

Similarly, others describe their mothers as being excellent practical care-givers but perceived the relationship as cold:

“my mum is very creative and we were always making things that were really good but it just, I don’t know, I’m sure they loved us...they never seemed to kiss and cuddle or anything like that...sort of seems very cold to me now” (0311:5,12).

However, based on the characteristics presented of maternal relationships in appendix

M. over half of the participants perceived their relationships with their mothers as

positive. One man who was adopted at the age of four recalled:

“I can remember one time my dad give me the slipper for being naughty and me mum stood there crying...I just know that I never felt unloved...I mean they gave me the room to grow and helped me sort of thing really” (0316:4,166).

Another man who was adopted by an older couple recalled:

“I used to er wet the bed when I was very young, you know...but there was never anything, there was no ‘oh goodness me he’s wet the bed again’ it was always change me, hug, cuddle me you know...they cared, loving, you know...” (0301:4,148).

In summary, the sense that participants made of their relationships with their mothers can be divided into two aspects. The first aspect was characterised by difficulties and memories of mothers being cold. Some perceived that their mothers viewed them as commodities whilst at the more extreme some believed their mothers regretted selecting them for adoption. This position is supported by observations made in the research diary: *“interestingly she seemed attached to her adopted father more than her mother...her mother was cold towards her. It felt cruel, but warm towards her father.”* (Diary: January 16th, 1998). The second perception of mothers was as loving, caring and giving parents.

Theme 2b. Meaning given to relationships with Fathers

As indicated the meaning given to the relationships with fathers over all differed somewhat to that of relationships with mothers. The adjectives selected to describe the relationships with the fathers (appendix N) contained more positive words. From

the memories of incidents which illustrated the adjectives fathers were generally regarded more positively, despite the time they were absent from the home due to their work, and the role they tended to play as disciplinarian. One interesting interpretation from the interviews was that the women in particular had very close relationships with their fathers (appendix J: Theme 2b).

Of those who described a positive relationship with their fathers, one woman who at the time of the interview was living with her parents, said that despite the fact that her father was often away for work when she was a child:

"...I'm more close to me dad, I always will be, I don't know why. He just makes me laugh and I've always got on with me dad...you know I'm me daddy's little girl..."(0310:2,99).

"when they came to the adoption home I wouldn't let go of my dad's leg um when I first met him, there was something there...I love him...he's brilliant..."(0310:6, 253).

Similarly the women who when interviewed following the death of her parents cried when discussing her father because she missed him, said:

"I felt very close to my father...I sort of shared an awful lot of, of interests I was interested in a lot of things he was interested in, we always went for lots of walks in the country...he used to be interested in poetry and art which I love..."(0309:10,40).

However, a smaller number of participants did not have memories of good relationships with their fathers. Several participants believed their fathers were not interested in them as children, for example one man said of his father:

"...I dared say something you know, like why doesn't dad ever do this or something and she said (mother) 'well he goes to work, he puts food on the table, clothes on your back, he makes sure you have a holiday every year' and I think she saw that as his role and I thought what about showing us some love..."(0311:23,42).

Another man said:

"...he tended to be sort of, when it was bedtime and stuff then that was when dad would turn up, and mmm I recall him, he used to be in his study for quite a bit during the day...he was there physically but tended to be always be doing something..."(0306:7, 10).

Despite some variation in the perceptions people gave to the sense they had made of their relationships with their fathers as children, most regarded them positively. It was of interest that some of the women spoke particularly warmly of their fathers. This is further supported by material from the research diary: *"exceptionally and appropriately close to her father. It was nearly the anniversary of her father's death and she cried - pure, raw, grief."* (Diary: December 12th, 1998). On a separate theme it was of interest that those who did not have good relationships with their fathers also had poor relationships with their mothers (see appendices M and N, participants: 0318, 0311, 0502).

Theme 2c. Restoration of relationship with parents in early adulthood

The last sub-theme emerging from the author's interpretation of the participants' relationship with their parents was an understanding that where there had been difficulties in childhood and adolescence, early adulthood often represented an improvement in relationships (appendix J: Theme 2c).

One women talked specifically of the impact of grandchildren on her relationship with her parents:

"...it changed particularly when I had the girls...we went on holiday, erm when B. was little girl with mum and dad, and that was really good and erm, it it almost seemed to have, sort of broken the mould"(0313: 18,48).

"...in the last few months we've been able to, to talk to her about erm particular problems...in fact I'm probably more open with her now than I ever used to be..."(0313:20,13).

The man who suggested earlier that being adopted was like going 'back to square one', said:

"it is less of mother, father, son relationship, its um two adult groups becoming friends...it alright, its good...have no arguments with them, I talk to them regularly once, maybe twice a week on the phone, erm they come down and stay..."(0317:23,1122).

Of course reparation did not occur in all cases and it was not surprising to the author to find that those people who experienced the most difficult relationships with parents, found it harder as adults. One example of this related to a man living in a homosexual relationship who had been rejected by his family because of his sexuality and who had sought relationships with his biological family having traced them in adulthood. This was despite his insistence that:

"my adopted parents are my real parents and I miss them more than anything..."(0318:30,30).

6.3 Theme 3: Proof of self in relation to the world

The third theme that emerged reflected an apparent need by many of the participants to 'prove themselves'. This emerged in a number of ways and the evidence is presented as appendix J: Theme 3. Examples of this were encompassed in the need to accomplish and achieve in hobbies, careers and in relationships. However, it was also evident that for some accomplishments were unachievable.

The first interpretation made by the author related to the participants' need to discuss their accomplishments in life, as though they were the only markers of success. For

example in the reflections of one man who had been adopted by academic parents, who repeatedly enrolled on courses in search of his ideal career:

"one minute you're working, next minute you're in full time college doing great guns, and now what have you done, wiped it all away..."(0901:6,255).

Another man was anxious throughout the interview to convey his accomplishments:

"without meaning to sound big headed, I'm an exceptionally talented musician, all those trophies (pointing to mantle piece) up there are all for music things...I've played all over the world with all sorts of people..."(0318:7,23).

In addition the author recorded in the research diary *"It struck me that he seemed very keen to let me know how well he'd done in life and was very proud of his accomplishments, as though that is how he judged himself"* (December 12th, 1998).

Seeking proof of oneself is, therefore, illustrated at two levels: First those who were constantly seeking fulfillment and achievement but repeatedly failing to reach that aim; second, those who appeared to exaggerate a particular accomplishment as though it were a measure of their integrity.

Further evidence to support the theme of proving oneself was found in the meaning some participants gave to relationships with people outside the family. This emerged for one of the women in the way she allowed men to take advantage of her sexually:

"because basically I didn't um...think much of myself you know, me myself...hated myself...I've sort of had relationships with men and I've let them do whatever basically they want"(0310:11,523).

In the authors opinion others showed a tendency to become involved in extremely intense relationships in order to prove themselves in relation to family and society.

The suggestion of one of the women describing her pattern of broken relationships, gave to the author a sense that she was searching for something that was unachievable:

"I've never, none of my boyfriends I seem to of settle down with, and all the good ones that I've, well the good ones that I have had, that's been my doing and I ended up splitting with them..."(0903:13,617).

Equally the author interpreted the same intensity and element of compulsion in other relationships, although at the same time an ambivalence towards others.

“through my own doing, I feel that I rely on them a lot and I feel that if, all of a sudden I don’t rely on them...” (0903:22,1065).

In summary, a number of the participants described aspects of their lives, including accomplishments and relationships, which to the author represented a need to prove themselves. As suggested, this was achieved by a need to excel in creative activity, but also in relationships with others. It was also evident to the author that self-fulfillment was for some difficult to achieve, resulting in repetitive attempts to achieve the unachievable. This issue also manifested itself for the author in an interpretation of the materialism in some of the participants’ lives. It was as though material objects represented ‘having made it’. One entry in the research diary reads: *“I (the author) couldn’t help but feel that tangibles, material things represented having made it. Televisions, videos, models of this and that, home beautifully care for - scented soap and nicely folded handtowels in a bachelor’s pad.”* (Diary: January 30th, 1998).

6.4 Theme 4: Emotional self containment and self reliance

The majority of participants in the study described themselves as emotionally self contained and self reliant. Some also spoke of their need to cope with emotional distress in isolation (appendix J: Theme 4). Memories of how the participants coped with emotional distress in childhood suggested this self containment. One man commented:

“I wouldn’t open up to anyone, I wouldn’t...I would go into like a little shell...” (0317:12,579).

One of the men restored to his biological mother said:

"I'd hide away...I'd always considered myself a troubled child..."(1102:13,656).

He also commented about how he coped as an adult:

"you deal with things as they go along don't you? You just pick yourself up and you just gotta keep going and that's what I learned from being a child..."(1102:26,1340).

Others talked about actively not wanting to let people be close to them. One woman recalled:

"I think I just kept it in really...I was extremely introverted...I used to write things down...I just never used to discuss things with people until I was in my twenties..."(0311:17,5).

Later in the interview she provided a reason for why she remained so self-contained:

"I do not let people get that close...I think it's 'cos I always think they're gonna let me down..."(0311:23,21).

However, not all of the participants believed their emotional isolation reflected a sense of insecurity in themselves but instead reflected a genuine sense of being happy when alone. One of the men in the study who had experienced difficulties with his parents said:

"I 'spose I didn't really need comforting, 'cos I always felt secure and I dunnow, I was a pretty well adjusted sort of kid..."(0316: 16,781).

He also suggested:

"I was never really loving or close...I 'spose I could stand on my own...I could deal with situations"(0316:17,841).

Similarly another of the men said:

"I tended to be very much sort of, very much did my own thing, very happy just sort of being in my bedroom, playing with lego and reading books...generally being on my own..."(0306:4,30).

From the author's interpretation of how participants coped with emotion, it was evident that being self-contained emotionally was extremely important to them. This was viewed as a way of protecting themselves from being rejected or because they saw themselves as disturbed. For others whilst being emotionally contained was a protective mechanism it was also reflected as self reliance and a preference for their own company. It was important to the author that as people made sense of the way they coped with their emotions as adults they related this to their need to be self-contained as young children. The author commented in the research diary: "*another male who appeared so defensive and emotionally cold...*" (Diary: February 8th, 1998).

6.5 Theme 5: Meaning given to social relationships

A further theme identified in the research relates to difficulties with social relationships in childhood and adolescence, which for some have persisted into adulthood (appendix J: Theme 5). A number of participants specifically talk about being bullied for a number of reasons, including racial differences, whilst others talked of their inability to make friends.

The perception of having been bullied at school and being unable to deal with or share a problem was an important issue for a number of participants. One woman said:

"I was bullied at school, I didn't tell me mum and dad about it and that was at the age of six and seven right through school..." (0322:10,449).

Another woman who remembered her mother trying to help with difficulties with friends at school commented:

"I had a lot of problems at school...I was always getting into scrapes...I got beaten up by God knows how many people...I used to just stand in the dinner line and a girl would just come up and whack me one you know" (0903:4,173).

There is evidence to suggest however that the peer relationship difficulties of the participants did not only manifest themselves as being victims of bullying. Some recalled how spiteful they could be towards other children at school. One woman said:

"I must admit I got the stage when I was at junior school that I can remember...well I used to be terrified of my mum finding out if I'd been in trouble at school...I remember this incident with this...well I'd you know give her a good seeing to..."(0313: 9,14).

Whilst some participants had actively hostile relationships with peers, others simply found socialisation a very difficult experience and considered it a set back for them even as adults. For example one man said:

"I'm not very, not a very social person...and that hurts, that tends to get a bit of a problem...I tend to compensate for it by being over the top, but when it comes to actually talking to people I find it very difficult, small talk is not my strong point..."(0306:12,45).

Another man commented:

"I was a sort of unhappy child in a way you know, I never really wanted to do much after school. No I just wanted to stay at home, stay in..."(0902:6,242)... "ok you know I had friends at school but I just never got involved with anything, there was just you know totally lonely I was...always on my own..."(0902:7,308).

The continuity of social difficulties in adulthood was evident for a number of participants who talked about their current lives as being without a circle of friends.

This is attributed to an inability to know how to develop social relationships, for example one man recalled when he joined the army:

"it was er quite a big room, I remember there was about twenty odd people in the room, and I would have a bed in the corner...and people would go off down to the NAAFI which was like a little club...and there'd be me in the room, maybe watching the television, I wouldn't (pause) associate with them so much erm...I felt I was a bit of a loner, I still am as much..."(0317:16,753).

As well as an inability to socialise, others suggested that by not becoming involved with friends they protected themselves from rejection and getting hurt. One of the men restored to his biological mother having been in the children's home said:

"I don't know, relationships that type of thing I'm not very good with relationships...it's the trustworthy, it's the trust aspect of it isn't it, it trusting somebody...I suppose it's because I want to avoid the hurt I suppose you could say..."(1102:24,1231).

An inability to trust people presented itself as a common issue throughout many of the interviews.

Difficulties in social relationships was a feature which characterised many of the participants. Memories of being victimised by peers at school is evident in some cases, although difficulties in socialisation is also demonstrated by some participants being aggressive towards their peers. This social isolation also appears to have continued into adulthood for many of the participants, characterised by a fear of rejection and some sense of not knowing how to manage social relationships. This theme is supported by reflections in the research diary: *"he had a successful job and was responsible for managing people, but close intimate relationships were not really part of the picture."* (Diary: February 8th, 1998).

6.6 Theme 6: Behavioural and emotional problems during adolescence

The final significant theme from the analysis concerned behavioural and emotional difficulties for a number of the participants that emerged in adolescence (appendix J: Theme 6). In some of the interviews delinquency leading to involvement of the police and involvement in antisocial activity with other young people was evident as was involvement with antisocial peers, engaging in drugs and promiscuity. This led in some

cases to an abrupt ending to family life. Some of the participants made sense of their behaviour by terming them as emotional problems.

At the extreme the behavioural problems led to a complete breakdown in family relations, one man who experienced considerable personal difficulty after he was abused by a stranger said:

"When I was 13 I was put in care because I was a bit unruly, then I lived with foster parents until I was 18 and I've lived on my own since I was 18."(0316:1,37) ... "I got cautioned for burglary and breaking and entering and arson when I was 12..."(0316:9,442)

In the same interview he interpreted his behaviour to be as a result of his own emotional problems:

"...because I got abused by someone and that's what sent me off my head..."(0316:2,89).

Similarly one of the women who had behavioural difficulties at home, which later involved her getting into trouble with the police, as a consequence of emotional disturbance relating back to her time in the children's home said:

"before I went to them like there was something...connected with men or something...I don't know, I can't remember much about the home (children's home) at all..."(0903:9,425).

For others their behavioural problems appeared to reflect an unhappiness in their family life. A number of the participants left home at a young age, for example one of the women described:

"I wasn't what you would call like most vicar's daughters because...I was determined to sort of rebel...I did often sort of go out of my way to cause trouble...it was me defying what it was all about really..."(0313:5,38)... "things had been building up for quite a few years...then one day something snapped and that was it...I packed everything into these black plastic bags and that was it..."(0313:17,33).

In general the majority of participants in the research had not experienced serious behavioural problems. However, it emerged that where behavioural problems did arise they were perceived as being a reaction to emotional problems caused by possible early, often unspecific, traumas or by more entrenched family difficulties. Further evidence to support this theme is reflected in one of the author's diary entries:

"Delinquency, rationalised by participants because of emotional problems appears to be coming up, a third having severe behavioural problems is interesting." (Diary: November 26th, 1998).

6.7 Summary of results

The themes identified in the analysis relate to: the impact of institutionalised care on later development; relationships with parents; 'proving oneself'; emotional self-containment; difficulties in social relationships; and emotional and behavioural problems in adolescence. We shall now consider the implications of the findings and discuss implications of the research.

7.0 Discussion

7.1 Summary of the Study

Early attachment theory suggested that being deprived of a maternal figure during a 'critical period', within the first few years of life, would lead to the development of a 'psychopathic character' rendering the individual unable to function in the social world (Bowlby, 1951). Bowlby (1988) considered attachment to have an important incremental role on developmental pathways, and moved away from his orthodox position following many years of research in which it had been suggested that as a result of reparative experience through personal and environmental influences, poor adjustment is not inevitable (Smyer et al., 1998). A series of studies based upon longitudinal research of a group of children raised in institutionalised care within a context of pure non-attachment, and who were then adopted or restored to a biological parents as children, has contributed to this more balanced perspective on the potential influences on development (Tizard, 1977; Hodges, 1996).

The current study was part of the latest longitudinal follow-up of these individuals at age 30 and was designed to investigate current adjustment and attachment. More specifically the study reported in this thesis represents an attempt to understand the sense these people have made of their lives by employing a qualitative methodology to explore their memories of early experiences as described within the AAI interview. In the following section the outcomes of the study and the implications for the research will be discussed.

7.2 Summary and discussion of research outcomes:

7.2.1 Interpretation of general outcomes

Prior to embarking on a discussion of the themes raised in the research it is important to highlight a general issue for the author. The experience of conducting the interviews and analysis created an anxiety that the study would not generate significant outcomes. However, as reflected in the research diary one of the author's interpretations of the 'over all' experience of the participants was that they were survivors. Early in the interview process the author commented in the diary:

"My experience of him: he is clearly doing very well in life and I began wondering what this was all about." (Diary: December 12th, 1997).

Following later interviews the author commented in the diary:

"I can't put my finger on it, but it feels like with both interviews people seemed to have had a reasonable life with their families, but it wasn't family as I know it..." (Diary: January 16th, 1998).

Likewise:

"he survived and was functioning better than many people I know who have come from so called 'close families'..." (Diary: January 30th, 1998).

The author's interpretation of this was that whilst there were themes which appeared to set the ex-institutionalised adults apart, Bowlby's (1951) purist ideas of attachment theory did not reflect the participants in the study and his ideas presented in 1998 represent a more reasoned position for the current research. Issues of resilience (Rutter, 1993) and temperament (Sroufe et al., 1983) may partially explain the participants' ability to overcome their early adversity. It is also plausible that reparation through adoption or being restored to a biological parent was credible (Hodges, 1996). It may, therefore, be appropriate to agree with Belsky and

Nezworski's (1988) observation that people would be 'impervious to subsequent experience or that early attachment security would determine - in any undetermined fashion - the course of later development' (pp.5). In essence it is possible to suggest that a combination of individual and environmental factors may explain a participant's ability to overcome any detrimental effects of early non-attachment. Nevertheless, it would be inaccurate to suggest that the meanings participants made of their experiences were consistent or positive. It is now intended to address the outcomes of the study and consider the implications of each of the themes.

7.2.2 Meaning given to the early experience of institutionalisation

It was evident from the interpretation of the interviews that a number of participants sought to attribute difficulties they had experienced throughout their formative years, to their experience of early institutionalised care and later adoption. Whilst some of the participants could not recall memories of being in the childrens' homes, their perceptions were that something negative in the experience had contributed to difficulties in later life. It is arguable that this is consistent with Hodges' (1996) conclusion that the residual impact of institutionalised care resulted in some attachment difficulties and emotional and behavioural problems.

In attempting to take an impartial perspective on the research, as suggested in the results, the author considered with caution the participants' attribution of the negative impact of institutionalised care. In seeking alternative explanations for these attributions it may be important to consider the origins of such beliefs. It is plausible to suggest that the internal representations of the world as described by Holmes (1993) in

the context of attachment theory, play an important role in how people make sense of their lives based on earlier experiences. Similarly, this would equally fit Beck et al's (1979) concept of 'basic assumptions' and Young, Beck and Weinberger's (1993) model of psychological schemas, which develop early thus providing a template for the individual to orientate him or herself in relation to the environment. Alternatively, it may be argued that attachment ideas have become an integral part of lay-people's rationalisation of the development of psychological problems to such an extent that they have become 'self-fulfilling prophecies'. Belsky and Nezworski's (1988) concluded that early attachment is not so deterministic, therefore, it may be argued that attachment problems do not inevitably lead to psychological problems. It is important that consideration is given to how internalised representations of the world develop and to consider the possible influence of social myths that may be created by a partial understanding of psychological theory.

7.2.3 Relationships with mothers and fathers.

Based on the importance given to relationships with parents in the AAI, it was not surprising that issues emerged about mothers and fathers. The main conclusions drawn from theme two was that the perspective of each parent differed widely. Whilst mothers were regarded by some as caring and warm, for others the extent of their negativity towards their mothers was clearly observed. In contrast, although some fathers were considered absent and not child-centred, fathers tended to be perceived more positively by many of the participants. However, it is interesting that where parental relationships had been poor in childhood and adolescence, adulthood had

created opportunities for improvement in the relationship for some of the participants. Again these concur with Hodges (1996) conclusions about attachment difficulties.

It is also of considerable interest, however, that the accounts given by parents about the positive nature of the relationship between them and their adopted child at ages eight and 16 (Hodges, 1996) are not supported entirely by the participants at age 30. In considering the findings at age 16 (Hodges, 1996) it is evident that behavioural and social problems distinguished the adopted groups from those children raised within their biological families, and yet the quality of the attachment relationship with mothers did not. From the author's interpretation of the meaning given to relationships with parents it is suggested that the perception of relationships was less positive for the participants than has previously been reported from the parents' perspective.

Taking the evidence as a whole it would appear that the adopted children were able to develop good relationships with their parents during their childhood and adolescence. However, based on the meanings given to these relationships at age 30 it may be incorrect to suggest these relationships were perceived in the same way by the 'child' as they were by their mothers. In particular the accounts of 'feeling like a commodity' may suggest some explanation of this for some of the participants. Equally it may be argued that the parent-child relationship was a genuinely positive experience for the parent, but not so for the child. It is also important that many of the memories were related to difficulties in adjustment during adolescence, and therefore, have to be understood within a normal developmental pattern of adolescent behaviour (Feldman & Elliot, 1992). In addition in the background to the study it was suggested that

adaptation at one stage of development may not be appropriate at a later stage (Sroufe & Rutter, 1984). Equally it was suggested by Defries et al., (1994) that adopted children have been found to experience considerable difficulties during adolescence.

7.2.4 Proof of self in relation to the rest of the world

From the interpretation of the interviews the four remaining themes share a common thread of reflecting what could be described as insecurity. The first of these concerns the author's interpretation that many of the participants appeared to need to prove themselves as a way of gaining recognition. It is arguable that this is consistent with findings at age 16 (Hodges, 1996), whereby the institutionalised children were perceived to be overtly attention seeking outside the home. This was apparent for the author in theme three where some participants appeared to measure themselves in terms of accomplishments. Achievement at work, in hobbies and towards relationships were presented as evidence for this, as was the sense that the author attempted to make of this issue as evidenced in the research diary.

As suggested earlier, the over all experience of the study was that the participants had survived and had been able to find a place for themselves in society, have pride in their achievements and saw themselves as having 'accomplished'. However, it may also be argued that the wish to be seen as having accomplished also represents a certain insecurity. This is further evident in the finding that seeking accomplishment represents an unachievable aim for a number of the participants. This was reflected in both the perceptions of work and relationships. As will be discussed under the limitations of the study, the AAI prevented easy access to current perceptions and relied on

meanings given to earlier experiences. However, it is evident from the demographic data that many of the participants had been able to achieve intimate relationships, for example having been married and having had children. In summary one of the important themes raised in the research suggests that historically the institutionalised children have consistently sought reassurance from others and attempted to place themselves in relation to society by way of accomplishment.

7.2.5 Emotional self containment and self reliance

One further theme which is strongly supported by the evidence presented in the study concerns the emotional isolation experienced by the majority of the participants throughout their lives, and represents a further dimension of insecurity. For some this was regarded as painful, whilst others perceived it as a preferred and adaptive way of coping. It is arguable that this is supported by conclusions made in the follow-up study at age 16 (Hodges, 1996), in so far as the institutionalised children appeared to experience difficulties, particularly outside the home. It may be suggested that 'being emotionally contained' served as an umbrella for understanding why the institutionalised group experienced difficulties in adjustment; for example in emotional and behavioural difficulties, relationships with teachers, inappropriate attention seeking and relationships with peers.

As suggested earlier in this report, Hodges (1996) concludes that the experience of institutionalisation up to and beyond the age of two may have resulted in an internal working representation of care-givers as 'unreliable, transient, arbitrary figures who are unlikely to provide close affection or close attention' (pp.76). It may be suggested

that the children in this context learned to be self-contained as a way of surviving. Furthermore the 'internal working representation' developed in the early formative years may have continued to influence their mechanisms of expressing and coping with emotions. It is apparent from the results that a lack of trust plays an important role in why some of the participants cannot share their emotions, particularly negative ones, with others. In summary, emotional self containment and self reliance is arguably a highly significant factor in understanding the long-term impact of early non-attachment.

7.2.6 Meaning given to social relationships

From all of the evidence reviewed in section two of this study there is perhaps no more common a theme than difficulties in social relationships. Experiences of being bullied and being overtly aggressive towards peers are evident in the results of the current study. Even without evidence of victimisation or aggression, others described considerable difficulty in being able to make and sustain friendships.

In the follow-up study at age 16, Hodges and Tizard (1989b) concluded that the ex-institutionalised groups consistently experienced problems in socialisation. Likewise, Maughan and Pickles (1990) found that peer relationships were found to be a particularly difficult area for adopted children. Howe's (1998b) review of adoption research also suggested that many adopted children experience relationship problems with peers. Given what has been suggested thus far in the discussion, it may be proposed that difficulties in socialisation reflect a tangible example of how the individual's early internalised representations of relationships affects later development.

As suggested earlier (Sroufe & Rutter, 1984), whilst reparation may have been possible within the family, adaptation at one stage of development may not be adaptive at another.

7.2.7 Behavioural and emotional problems during adolescence

The final theme identified in the research concerned the emotional and behavioural difficulties experienced by a smaller number of the participants. The evidence from the results suggests that behavioural problems manifested themselves for some participants to such an extent that they engaged in delinquency which led to involvement with law enforcement. In addition, difficulties in peer relationships as described above may have led some of the participants to seek engagement with antisocial peer groups, for example those involved in drug taking. However, what is apparent from the meaning participants made of this behaviour was that their difficulties were as a result of unpleasant memories of the institutions, unhappiness at home or because of an unresolved trauma. As with some of the themes discussed above, behavioural problems were identified in the ex-institutionalised group at age 16 and complements their teachers' reports of them as quarrelsome and irritable (Hodges, 1996). Equally, as suggested earlier by Defries et al., (1994) boys in particular experienced elevated levels of behavioural problems.

7.3 Summary of main findings and implications

The results of the current study suggest that whilst early attachment theory does not accurately reflect the outcome for the participants in this study, it is arguable that their experiences of institutionalised care, in the context of pure non-attachment, may have

affected their perceptions of themselves and others. The author's over all experience of the ex-institutionalised adults was that they had grown-up to be individual, functioning adults. This is consistent with the findings of a longitudinal study of adults who were adopted as children (Smyer et al., 1998). However, they had experienced difficulties with parents and peers, and shared a common insecurity, represented in the study in terms of emotional containment, the need to prove oneself and in emotional and behavioural problems. This may suggest that their early experiences had at least an incremental effect on subsequent development.

Many of the findings are consistent with and support early conclusions drawn about the ex-institutionalised group at age 16 (Hodges, 1996). In addition their experiences supported conclusions from other studies of children who were adopted (Maughan & Pickles, 1990; Defries et al., 1994). Yet, it would be inaccurate to characterise the participants in the current study as totally homogeneous, thus supporting Howe's (1998b) conclusion that 'many, but by no means all, (adopted children) experience insecurity, anxiety, and relationship problems with peers' (pp.9).

It may be suggested that the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) (Smith et al., 1999) of the AAI provided an appropriate qualitative methodology for exploring the sense that people have made of certain experiences. The accounts provided by the participants have been interpreted by the author and represent an attempt to understand the 'meaning' the adults gave to their lives having been raised in institutionalised care during a critical period of non attachment in early childhood, and then adopted or restored to biological parents. The study has sought to adhere to Kockelmans (1975) 'canons' of deriving meaning from the data, having undertaken a

thorough investigation of the AAI transcripts and in drawing conclusions that are consistent with the evidence presented.

7.4 Limitations of the study

At the design stage of the study it was recognised that the benefit of gaining access to a unique sample of participants for the purposes of understanding the impact of early non attachment on adult development, was possibly out-weighed by the limitations placed on the content of the AAI interview. It may, therefore, be suggested that the current study is subject to criticism as a result of limiting the accounts participants gave of their experiences within a structured attachment interview. As well as possibly limiting the scope of the research, the AAI, by way of the answers it seeks to elicit about experiences of early relationships, has also influenced the outcomes of the study. Therefore, despite the author's explicit aim to explore the meaning participants gave to their early experiences, it is probable that different conclusions may have been reached if the interview had been less structured. However, it is important to recognise that the current study is part of a large follow-up study and opportunities to make links with the attachment findings, in addition to the results about adjustment outcomes in future research publications will partially address this limitation.

As reported in the study two of the 15 participants had been restored to their biological parents, with the remaining 13 being adopted. As a result of the discrepancy in numbers of these two sub-groups it was not possible to systematically compare the impact of restoration to family and adoption on development. However, the study deliberately sought to consider the participants as a homogeneous group on the basis

of the shared experience of 'institutionalised non-attachment.' Future studies may consider the potential differences between those adopted and restored and the impact in adulthood.

A further limitation of the current study concerns the number of participants involved. As suggested, of the 36 participants traced at age 16, it was only possible to trace 22 at age 30. Furthermore, whilst all 22 agreed to participate in phase one of the study it was only possible to conduct the AAI with 15 of them. It may be suggested that 15 participants is acceptable given that the qualitative methodology selected does not rely on conventional quantitative rules concerning statistical power and sample size.

However, in the context of the research aims it is recognised that the 15 participants may represent a discrete sub-group from the original longitudinal sample. It is not possible to determine what would make the current sample unique, although one may speculate that they represent a more stable and well functioning sub-group who felt confident and able to explore their past within a research context. Alternatively, they may also represent a sub-group who experience a higher level of problems and potentially regarded the research process as an opportunity to discuss their difficulties with professionals who were aware of their early experiences. It was the author's perception that those interviewed were genuinely interested in the longitudinal nature of the research and were pleased that someone had continued to take an interest in their lives.

Within the scope of the current study it was recognised that opportunities for providing further validation of the outcomes were limited, and this represents a further

limitation of the research. Whilst the author has attempted to address issues of validity and reliability by adhering to conventions concerning internal coherence, presentation of evidence and independent audit, it has not been possible to use multiple sources of information (triangulation). However, as suggested earlier it is the intention of the author to integrate the findings of the current research into the larger longitudinal study.

Given the limited scope of time and resources for the current study it has also not been possible to seek the participants' views about the interpretations made by the author. Smith (1996) argues that from a phenomenological perspective 'member validation' (returning to talk to participants about the study in process) represents an important part of the study's validity. Moreover, it is recognised that the author's interpretation in the current study may not explore fully the sense participants gave to their early experience, especially given the restrictive format of the AAI.

8.0 Conclusions

8.1 Implications for clinical practice

It may be suggested that the current study provides some insight into the importance of relationships in the formative years of development on adulthood. In the context of formulating clinical problems, having an understanding of the significance of internal working representations which people use to make sense of their relationships throughout their lives, is important. In addition to understanding this process within attachment theory, the evidence presented in the study also supports a clinical understanding of 'basic assumptions' (Beck et al., 1979) or schemas (Young et al.,

1993), which are understood to provide a template with which the individual makes sense of their lives. In the clinical context these templates may render the individual susceptible to repeating maladaptive behavioural and cognitive strategies.

The evidence presented in the current study may also provide useful insights for the clinician into the long-term impact of attachment difficulties for clients engaged in therapeutic work. Whilst the participants in the current study were characterised as having experienced ‘non attachment’, it is equally plausible that other adverse attachment experiences may inhibit adaptive functioning. It is also of great importance that evidence, such as that provided in the current study, is employed in a balanced and informed manner by the clinician. It may be argued that the conclusions from this research suggest that regarding early maternal deprivation as irretrievably damaging to later development is inaccurate, and that clinicians need to be open to exploring reparative experiences with the client. Furthermore, whilst the use of childrens’ homes for such young children is no longer part of social welfare policy in the UK, and adoption less common than it was some 30 years ago (Hodges, 1996), clinicians need to be aware of the potential long-term impact of such experiences on adult clients.

8.2 Implications for service delivery

This study provides some evidence to suggest that children are affected by interruptions in early attachment relationships. Therefore, services designed for facilitating the placement of vulnerable children, for example fostering and adoption and ‘looked after children’, need to consider the long-term effects in planning for their care. A further issue raised by the research suggested that some of the participants who had experienced emotional and behavioural problems during their formative years were

only able to begin making sense of their problems in adulthood. For example one of the women was actively seeking psychological help to understand and to attempt to resolve her abusive sexual relationships with men. It may be argued that those responsible for providing services for children and young people are aware that some young people may not be able to address their psychological difficulties until they are of an age where then can reflect on their experiences.

8.3 Implications for future research

As suggested by Smyer et al., (1998) there are only a small number of longitudinal studies that consider the impact of early privation of attachment figures and later adoption into adulthood. The current study is part of one of these studies. Further replication of studies into the long-term effects of institutionalised care and/or adoption are required. It is also necessary that clinical psychologists take an active role in promoting the application of qualitative methodologies in addition to the more traditional quantitative methods used in the profession (Pilgrim, 1997). Such methodologies provide a systematic format for exploring subtle clinical differences in greater detail, which may require some element of interpretation, but provide greater insight than might be achieved through traditional quantitative approaches.

A further issue appropriate for future research relates to the inter-generational transmission of attachment. As suggest by Fonagy et al., (1991) current evidence suggests that attachment is remarkably consistent from parent to child. In the current study a number of participants had children, however the research failed to investigate

parenting styles or attachment status. Future studies investigating the long-term impact of parental separation in adulthood may consider the parent-child relationship.

8.4 Summary

This study represents an attempt to understand the sense adults have made of their lives having been raised in institutionalised care, within a context of pure non attachment, and then adopted or restored to biological parents. This was achieved by employing Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis to explore memories of early experiences as described in the responses participants gave in using the Adult Attachment Interview. The findings of the study represent an original contribution to our understanding of the sense that adults have made of such an experience. Furthermore, the study may provide further insight into the impact of early experiences on internalised representations of relationships in adulthood.

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APPENDICES

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Institute of Child Health

and Great Ormond Street Hospital for Children NHS Trust

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON MEDICAL SCHOOL

23 October 1996

Dr J Hodges
Consultant Child Psychotherapist
Behavioural Sciences Unit
ICH

Dear Dr Hodges

96BS16 Adult outcome of early institutional care.



The
child
first
and
always

30 Guilford Street
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Direct Line: 0171 813
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Notification of ethical approval

The above research has been given ethical approval after review by the Great Ormond Street Hospital for Sick Children NHS Trust / Institute of Child Health Research Ethics Committee subject to the following conditions.

1. Your research must commence within twelve months of the date of this letter and ethical approval is given for a period of 12 months from the commencement of the project. If you wish to start the research more than twelve months from the date of this letter or extend the duration of your approval you should seek Chairman's approval.
2. You must seek Chairman's approval for proposed amendments to the research for which this approval has been given. Ethical approval is specific to this project and must not be treated as applicable to research of a similar nature, ie. using the same procedure(s) or medicinal product(s). Each research project is reviewed separately and if there are significant changes to the research protocol, for example in response to a grant giving bodies requirements you should seek confirmation of continued ethical approval.
3. It is your responsibility to notify the Committee immediately of any information which would raise questions about the safety and continued conduct of the research.
4. Specific conditions pertaining to the approval of this project are:
 - The use of the enclosed standard consent forms for the research. A copy of the signed form must be kept by you with the research records.

Yours sincerely

Anna Jenkins
Secretary to the Research Ethics Committee

enc

Dean: Professor Roland Levinsky BSc MD FRCP

Director of Finance: Mr Mark Bery BSc ACCA

Director of Research Administration: Dr Renny Leach DPhil

Director of Administration: Mr Shane O'Brien BSc (Econ)



INITIAL CONTACT LETTER

Date

Name

Address

Dear _____,

I am writing in connection with a research project you were involved in during the early 1980s. You may remember that I, or another researcher, met with you when you were 16 to interview you about a number of issues concerning young people's lives. Now some fifteen-odd years later, it would be of enormous benefit and interest to the research if you would agree to participate in a brief follow-up study.

In order to protect the confidentiality of all those involved, this letter is intended only as a way of making contact with you again, without committing you to take part.

It may be that you no longer live at the address on our research records, or use a different name. I enclose a freepost envelope for you to send me contact details on the tear-off slip below, where I might send you information about the study, and a questionnaire if you agree to participate. We are offering a payment of £10 as a small token of thanks for taking part.

We would also be very interested in interviewing you again if you are willing, and will send you information about this too.

I would be very grateful if you can let me know where I might contact you again directly, by completing the enclosed form and returning it to me.

With best wishes,

Jill Hodges
Consultant Child Psychotherapist and
Honorary Senior Lecturer.

(Please return this section - it does not commit you to take part)

[Research records name: _____]

Name

Address

Phone number, if possible

Thank you

Appendix C

Letters to GP, Tracing Letters, Follow-Up Letter and Information on the Study

Department of Psychological Medicine

Date

Dear Dr. ,

Name , date of birth, NHS number.

Mr/Mrs , as a child and young person, was part of a follow-up study, which we are now trying to continue into adulthood. Where we have not been able to contact people via their previous addresses, we have traced them through the NHS Central Records system, and we understand that Mr/Mrs is currently your patient. We attach an information leaflet and copy of our Ethical Committee permission.

We would be grateful if you would be kind enough to pass the enclosed envelope, which contains a letter, information sheet, consent form and questionnaire, on to Mr/Mrs x.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you wish to discuss this further. I am most easily contacted at 0171-829-8679 (Department of Psychological Medicine, Great Ormond Street Hospital).

Yours sincerely

Jill Hodges BA MSc PhD
Consultant Child and Adolescent Psychotherapist
and Honorary Senior Lecturer, Institute of Child Health.

7 February 1997

Dear ,

Some while back we wrote to you about a research project you took part in as a teenager, when you and your parents were interviewed about various aspects of young people's lives. We hoped to send you more information and invite you to take part in a brief follow-up study, which would be extremely helpful to the research.

We didn't hear back from you, so we don't know whether you decided you did not want to know anything further, or whether our letter simply did not reach you. So that we can know, would you be kind enough to complete the slip attached, and return it to us in the enclosed envelope?

If you are willing to have further information (which does not commit you in any way to take part), we will send you an information sheet, and a questionnaire to complete if you decide to take part. We will acknowledge return of the questionnaire and send you £10 in appreciation of your time and help.

Thank you.

Your sincerely

Jill Hodges
Consultant Child Psychotherapist and
Honorary Senior Lecturer.

Name:

0300

Please tick whichever statement applies to you, and return it in the s.a.e. provided.

☐ I do not wish to have any further information

OR

☐ I am willing to receive further information, without commitment to take part in the research.

Signed _____

Please confirm your name and address:

Name: _____

Address: _____

Thank you

Thank you very much for letting me know where to contact you with details of the research study. It was good to hear back from you, and I do hope you'll feel able to take part.

I enclose (1) an information sheet about the study
 (2) a questionnaire and the General Health
Questionnaire for you to complete if you are
willing.
 (3) a consent form

I've also enclosed an envelope for you to return the questionnaires and consent form to me. We'll acknowledge receipt, and send you £10 as a token of thanks for your time and input. I've left a bit of space at the end of the questionnaire for any important things we may have missed out, so please do make use of it!

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely

Jill Hodges.

FOLLOW-UP STUDY

INFORMATION ABOUT THE STUDY

We interviewed you for this project when you were a child and when you were 8 or 16 years old, and would like to ask you to take part again.

The aim of the study.

To look at the links between relationships in adulthood, and experiences and relationships in adolescence and childhood.

Why is the study being done?

It used to be thought that if children lacked a mother figure in their very early lives, for instance through living in a nursery as infants, their later development would suffer badly. Later research, including the earlier stages of this study, has shown that this is not the case, and that children who have not had a "parent" until after babyhood can form very good attachment relationships when they become part of a family. However, there is no research information available beyond adolescence. We aim to study the picture in adulthood, when people have moved out of the families they grew up in and are living independently, sometimes with their own partner and children

How is the study to be done?

The study will be done in two parts. In the first part we are trying to collect some basic information by post from all the people whom we interviewed at 8 or 16. In the second part, those people who are willing to meet with us for an interview will be asked about themselves in more detail. Even if you decide not to join in the second part we still hope that you will feel able to help with the first.

First part.

We are asking you to complete the 2 questionnaires which are enclosed. These are confidential and are focused around your own views of yourself and others. They are not a test and there are no "right" or "wrong" answers. There is a prepaid envelope for you to return them. We are also asking you at this stage to let us know if you would be willing for us to interview you later.

Second part.

If you agree to be interviewed, we may contact you to arrange a convenient time and place for a researcher to visit you.

The interview covers some of the same areas as the questionnaire but in more detail and based on your own words and impressions. It will last approximately one and a half to two hours. It will be audiotape-recorded, so that we have an accurate record for research, and so that during the interview the researcher can concentrate on what you are saying rather than on taking notes.

Who will have access to the research records?

Only the research team and a representative of the Research Ethics Committee will have access to the data collected in this study.

Do I have to take part in this study?

If you decide, now or at a later stage, that you do not wish to participate in this research project, that is entirely your right.

Who do I speak to if problems arise?

If you have any complaints about the way in which this research project has been, or is being conducted, please, in the first instance, discuss them with the researcher. If the problems are not resolved, or you wish to comment in any other way, please contact the Chairman of the Research Ethics Committee, by post via the Research and Development Office, Institute of Child Health, 30 Guildford Street, London, WC1N 1EH, or if urgent by telephone on 0171 242 9789 ex 2620, and the Committee administration will put you in contact with him.

How to contact the researcher.

You can contact Jill Hodges by post via the Behavioural Sciences Unit, Institute of Child Health, 30 Guildford Street, London WC1N 1EH; or if urgent by telephone on 0171 829 8679, the Department of Psychological Medicine, where you can leave a message if Dr Hodges is not available to speak when you ring.

Great Ormond Street Hospital for Children NHS Trust and
Institute of Child Health Research Ethics Committee

Consent Form for PARTICIPANTS in Research Studies

96BS16 Adult outcome of early institutional care: Dr J Hodges.

NOTES FOR PARTICIPANTS

1. You have been asked to take part in some research. The person organising that study must explain the project to you before you agree to take part.
2. Please ask the researcher any questions you like about this project, before you decide whether to join in.
3. If you decide, now or at any other time, that you do not wish to be involved in the research project, just tell us and we will stop the research. If you are a patient your treatment will carry on as normal.
4. You will be given an information sheet which describes the research. This information is for you to keep and refer to at any time. *Please read it carefully.*
5. If you have any complaints about the research project, discuss them with the researcher. If the problems are not resolved, or you wish to comment in any other way, please contact the Chairman of the Research Ethics Committee, by post via The Research and Development Office, Institute of Child Health, 30 Guilford Street, London, WC1N 1EH or if urgent, by telephone on 071 242 9789 ex 2620 and the committee administration will put you in contact with him.

CONSENT

I _____ agree that the Research Project named
above has been explained to me to my satisfaction, and I agree to take part in this study. I
have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and
understand what the research study involves.

SIGNED

SIGNED (Researcher)

Appendix E

Adult Attachment Interview: version prepared for purposes of ex-institutional study only. Included supplementary questions and interview triggers.

AAI QUESTIONS AND PROMPTS

- Intro : if emotional things come up talk over them at end.
- Confidentiality
- Taping

INTRO:

I'm going to be interviewing you about your childhood experiences, and how those experiences may have affected your adult personality. So, I'd like to ask you about your early relationship with your family, and what you think about the way it might have affected you. We'll focus mainly on your childhood, but later we'll get on to your adolescence and then to what's going on right now. This interview often takes about an hour, but it could be anywhere between 45 minutes and an hour and a half.

1. Could you start by helping me get oriented to your early family situation, and where you lived and so on? If you could tell me where you were born, whether you moved around much, what your family did at various times for a living?

2-3 minutes : demographics

Or if raised by several persons:

Who would you say raised you?

Did you see much of your grandparents when you were little?

If died during lifetime:

How old were you at the time of their death?

Or

Did this/these grandparent(s) die before you were born?

Your mother's father died before you were born? How old was she at the time, do you know?

Did she tell you much about this grandfather?

Did you have brothers and sisters living in the house, or anybody besides your parents? Are they living nearby now or do they live elsewhere?

2. I'd like you to try to describe your relationship with your parents as a young child...if you could start from as far back as you can remember?

Focus around the age of five or earlier.

3. Now I'd like to ask you to choose five adjectives or words that reflect your *relationship* with your mother starting from as far back as you can remember in childhood...as early as you can go, but say, age 5 to 12 is fine. I know this may take a bit of time, so go ahead and think for a minute...then I'd like to ask you why you chose them. I'll write each one down as you give them to me.

Get all 5 before begin probing.

They are *overview* adjectives

If can't come up with any more:

Well that's fine. Thank you, we'll just go with the ones you've already given me.

Well that's fine. Thank you, we'll just go with the ones you've already given me.

Okay, now let me go through some more questions about your description NS of your childhood relation ship with your mother. You say your relationship with her was_____.

Are there any memories or incidents that come to mind with respect to _____?

You described your childhood relationship with your mother as____/or your second adjective was _____. Can you think of a memory or an incident that would illustrate why you chose _____ to describe the relationship?

Can you think of a second incident that illustrates

If stumped for an illustrative specific incident:

Well just take another minute and see if anything comes to mind

Well that's fine, let's take the next one then.

If re-defines adjective with a second one:

Well can you think of a specific memory that would illustrate how your relationship was_____?

Well, that's a good general description, but I'm wondering if there was a particular time that happened, that made you think about it as _____?

4. Now I'd like to ask you to choose five adjectives or words that reflect your childhood relationship with your father, again starting from as far back as you can remember in early childhood.. as early as you can go, but again say, age 5 to 12 is fine. I know this may take a bit of time, so go ahead and think again for a minute...then I'd like to ask you why you chose them. I'll write each one down as you give them to me.

Repeat probes

5. Now I wonder if you could tell me, to which parent did you feel the closest, and why? Why isn't there this feeling with the other parent?

If touched on this already:

You've already discussed this a bit, but I'd like to ask about it briefly anyway.

6. When you were upset as a child, what would you do?

Get expansions of every answer.

**When you were upset emotionally when you were little, what would you do?
Can you think of a specific time that happened?**

Can you remember what would happen when you were hurt, physically?

Again, do any specific incidents come to mind?

Were you ever *ill* when you were little?

Do you remember what would happen?

If there is no spontaneous mention of being held by a parent then:

I was just wondering, do you remember being held by either of your parents at any of these times...I mean, when you were upset, or hurt, or ill?

7. What was the first time you remember being separated from you parents?

How did you respond?

Do you remember how your parents responded?

Are there any other separations that stand out in your mind?

8. Did you ever feel rejected as a young child? Of course, looking back on it now, you may realise it wasn't really rejection, but what I'm trying to ask about here is whether you remember ever having *felt* rejected in childhood.

How old were you when you first felt this way, and what did you do?

Why do you think your parent did those things...do you think he/she realised he/she was rejecting you?

If needed:

Did you ever feel pushed away or ignored?

8a. Were you ever frightened or worried as a child?

9. Were your parents ever threatening with you in any way...maybe for discipline, or even jokingly?

Ask about one specific form of punishment:

Some people have told us for example that their parents would threaten to leave them or send them away from home.

Some people have told us that their parents would use the silent treatment ...did this ever happen with your parents?

Some people have memories of threats or of some kind of behaviour that was abusive.

Did anything like this ever happen to you, or in your family?

How old were you at the time?

Did it happen frequently?

Do you feel this experience affects you now as an adult?

Does it influence your approach to you own child?

Did you have any such experiences involving people outside your family?

Same probes.

10. In general, how do you think your overall experiences with your parents have affected your adult personality?

Are there any aspects to your early experiences that you feel were a set-back in your development?

If named one or two setbacks:

Are there any other aspects of your early experiences, that you think might have held your development back, or had a negative effect on the way you turned out?

If has not thought of anything:

Is there *anything* about your early experiences that you think might have held your development back, or had a negative effect on the way you turned out?

If don't understand the term 'set-back':

Well, not everybody uses terms like set-back for what I mean here. I mean, was there anything about your early experience, or any parts of your early experiences, that you think might have held your development back, or had a negative effect on the way you turned out?

Then probe:

Is there anything else about your early experiences that you think might have held your development back, or had a negative effect on the way you turned out?

11. Why do you think your parents behaved as they did during your childhood?

12. Were there any other adults with whom you were close, like parents, as a child?

Or any other adults who were especially important to you, even though not parental?

What age were you?

Did this person live with the family?

Did they have care-giving responsibilities?

13. Did you experience the loss (death) of a parent or other close loved one while you were a young child..for example, a sibling, or a close family member?

Could you tell be about the circumstances, and how old you were at the time?

How did you respond at the time?

Was this death sudden or was it expected?

Can you recall your feelings at that time?

Have your feelings regarding this death changed much over time?

If not volunteered earlier:

Did you attend the funeral, and what was this like for you?

If loss of a parent or sibling:

What would you say was the effect on your (other parent) and on your household, and how did this change over the years?

Would you say this loss has had an effect on your adult personality?

Where relevant:

How does it affect your approach to your own child?

13a. Did you lose any other important persons during your childhood?

Same queries.

13b. Have you lost other close persons in adult years?

Same queries.

Maximum of 4 or 5, those that are the most significant to the participant.

14. Other than any difficult experiences you've already described, have you had any other experiences which you would regard as potentially traumatic?

I mean, any experience which was overwhelmingly and immediately terrifying.

15. Now I'd look to ask you a few more questions about your relationship with your parents. Were there many changes in your relationship with your parents (or remaining parent) after childhood? We'll get to the present in a moment, but right now I mean changes occurring roughly between your childhood and your adulthood?

16. Now I'd like to ask you, what is your relationship with your parents (or remaining parent) like for you now as an adult?

Here I am asking about your current relationship.

Do you have much contact with your parents at present?

What would you say the relationship with your parents is like currently?

Could you tell me about any (or any other) sources of dissatisfaction in your current relationship with your parents? Any special (or any other) sources of special satisfaction?

17. I'd like to move now to a different sort of question...it's not about your relationship with your parents, instead it's about an aspect of your current relationship with _____ (specific child of special interest to the researcher, or all the participants children considered together). How do you respond now, in terms of feelings, when you separate from your child/children?

Do you ever feel worried about (child)?

If without own children:

Now I'd like you to imagine that you have a one-year-old child, and I wonder how you think you might respond, in terms of feelings, if you had to separate from this child?

Do you think you would ever feel worried about this child?

18. If you had three wishes for your child twenty years from now, what would they be? I'm thinking partly of the kind of future you would like to see for your child. I'll give you a minute or two to think about this one.

If without own children:

Now I'd like you to continue to imagine that you have a one-year-old child for just another minute. This time, I'd like to ask, if you had three wishes for your child twenty years from now, what would they be?

I'm thinking partly of the kind of future you would like to see for your imagined child. I'll give you a minute or two to think about this one.

19. Is there any particular thing which you feel you learned above all from your own childhood experiences? I'm thinking here of something you feel you might have gained from the kind of childhood you had.

20. We've been focusing a lot on the past in this interview, but I'd like to end up looking quite a way into the future. We've just talked about what you think you may have learned from your own childhood experiences. I'd like to end by asking you what you hope your child (or, your imagined child) might have learned from his/her experiences of being parented by you?

FOR EX-INSTITUTIONAL GROUP ONLY:

21. Do you think that the time that you spent in residential nursery before you joined your adoptive family / returned to your family has had any effect on you?

22. Given your history of coming to a family a bit older than other people, how do you feel this has affected your thoughts about families, and how you see/would see yourself as a parent.

23. People who've been adopted often have thoughts about their biological parents, often when in their teens or around their thirties. Thoughts about what they were like or of contacting them, meeting them or finding out about them. I was wondering if you had had any thoughts like this, and could you tell me a bit about it.

FINALLY:

**24. Is there anything else that you think might be important to tell me?
Or, questions you would like to ask?**

Appendix F

Abstracts of Research Diary

Diary Abstracts

July 9th, 1997:

Having met with Jill and separately with M. to discuss the feasibility of the study, today I completed the research protocol and faxed it ...

Anyhow, Jill has managed to trace 26 of the adopted/restored group and about 25 comparisons. She tells me there could be as many as 15 cases for me to interview and they're all over the UK. I hope I haven't taken on too much.

Other than finding the whole area fascinating, and thinking about the general subject of reparation, I have struggled with research questions for the proposal. Who knows- is my most reactionary thought. Given that I want to do a qualitative analysis (grounded theory analysis) on the data, it is by definition difficult to spell out research questions in the traditional hypothesis testing models I'm used to. This feels a lot more liberating and relevant.

October 25th, 1997. The summer has flown by and I haven't given the study another thought since I sent off the proposal in July. Anyhow, Tony has sent me a brief letter saying that the board has accepted my proposal, and a brief meeting with M. suggested it was fine.

November 19th, 1997. Jill has asked me to conduct an AAI interview with someone I know. I've got the detailed interview schedule put together from my conversation with Jill. I've also got the tape recorder and must get some tapes. It makes such a difference to have good quality tape recordings. I must treat the data with careful handling given the value of each interview.

November 27th, 1997. T came up trumps and we did the interview in her room last night. I'd read through the interview loads of times, but I still needed to look at it too much. I mumbled too much, but it was absolutely fascinating. I can't believe how powerful it appears to be for the other person. I really wish I had had it done to me before I knew what it was about. I suspect people love talking about themselves, but it is so difficult to think about those very early memories and examples of things. As T was talking I was trying to think about me at 5, I couldn't remember a thing - except being Andy Pandy in a show!

I was really sad to hear how T didn't get on with her family when I get on so well with mine. Perhaps the opposite. One thing is for sure, the interviews are likely to be quite emotionally charged.

December 1st, 1997

I've just completed two days of transcribing T's AAI. The tape recorder and transcribing machine were excellent. It is really very difficult to get the pauses and ers and ums in. I think you probably do miss something out when putting it on paper. You can't imagine what the pauses mean or how some words are expressed. I must

find out why Main and crew insist on the written form. I would seem that a verbal record would surely give a greater clinical picture of the nature of the relationships.

December 12th, 1997

Completed my first real interview today. I was complimentary about T interview and gave me the green light. I found it totally exhausting - I was absolutely shattered. It was like a whole days clinical work in 1 hour.

In terms of 0318, I felt very comfortable with him and he made the interview go very easily. It's easier than a clinical assessment, because you've got to stick to the script. He found the adjectives bit very hard.

My experience of him: he is clearly doing very well in his life and I began wondering what this was all about. He certainly seemed to have got the social bit and financial bit worked out. Good career. One important theme concerned his sexual identity, ie. his adopted families rejection of him because he is gay - is that because of the gay bit, the 'bad egg' bit as he describes it or have his family reacted in much the same way many families must in the beginning? It was really striking however that he seemed very keen to let me know how well he'd done in life and was very very proud of his accomplishments, it was as though that is how he judged himself.

December 19th, 1997

I managed to speak to 5 of the remaining 12 by phone and arranged interviews in January and February. I've written to the others today, making contact and suggesting dates, I'll wait until January to do anything else.

January 16th, 1998

Been up to N. Yorkshire, big military base. Saw 0322, felt quite sad for her really. Stuck at home on this desolate housing estate with very little interest in communicating with the other military wives. Husband very support and a lovely little boy. Husband seemed very suspicious at first, but very quickly warmed when he saw I was harmless (at least physically). Warmed to 0322. Interestingly in the transference she seemed attached to her adopted father more than her mother. Mother and maternal grandmother - cold towards her. Felt almost cruel Very warm feelings towards her father. Can't put my finger on it, but it feels like with both interviews people seemed to have had a reasonable enough life with their family, but it wasn't family as I know it. Not the unconditional warmth and support. More than anything 0322 was a survivor and had made good with husband and child who she is clearly very very fond of. It's like she had to make her own unit, then everything was OK. Her mother removal of the invitation for Christmas was something that she just rode as if it were what families always do.

January 30th, 1998

Interviewed 0502 at his home. Very nice chap. Recently separated from his wife and seemed quite pleased to be single. He was restored to his biological father, although his step-mother emotionally abused him. This has left this man so cut off and emotionally cold. I couldn't help but feel, tangibles and material things represented having 'made it': TVs, videos, models of this and that, home beautifully cared for, scented soaps nicely folded handtowels in a bachelor's pad. But he'd survived and was functioning better than many people I know who have come from so called 'close families'.

February, 8th 1998

Went to see 1102 in Suffolk. Another male who appeared so defensive and emotionally cold, but attached to his home and material things. Had a successful job and was responsible for managing people, but close intimate relationships were not really part of the picture. Pictures in his home of holidays in the US. with friends of friends who he'd met a couple of times and talked of as though they were long lost friends. Warm sun and generous Americans, I know it sounds so cynical, but it was really quite an uncomfortable and sad thing to see. He does have a 'female friend' who he 'goes to the cinema with' but no more I thought.

February 12th, 1998

A very long day. One interview with 0309 in L. and later in the day with 0310 in D. Never do two interviews on one day - 100 miles apart. I really had to work hard in the second interview.

0309 - what a lovely woman. Her husband was a little wary of me, but soon wanted to show me how successful he had been making his fortune and became very chatty. Materialism seems so much more part of people's lives than mine, maybe it's me. She had had a very good relationship with her father interestingly. Similar pattern to what I've heard before - very cold mother, took care of her, but little else. Exceptionally and appropriately close to her adoptive father. It was nearly an anniversary of her father's death and she cried - pure, raw grief - about her parents both being dead. Again very successful. Two beautiful children.

0310 - A very vulnerable young woman, concerned that she had mental health problems and she admitted some abuse by boyfriends. She was seeing a counselor, so I felt she was sufficiently contained. Left my phone number. It is remarkable, there was another girl with a very good relationship with her adoptive father, but just a caring OK, relationship with her adoptive mother. I wonder what the mothers' agendas were taking these little girls to feed and wash and cook and cloth, but it didn't feel like they did it to love.

April 18th, 1998

Completed the interviews. There is so much to do on placement and with the rest of the course I think I'll have to leave doing anything else until later in the year. I've

started reading. Holmes book is very helpful on early attachment. The adoption literature is massive. Need to get summary I think.

October 8th, 1998

It's research week. Having got so far ahead earlier this year I'm beginning to feel very out of touch with the research. I've got the transcriptions under way and have copied all of the tapes and stored them away.

I took to opportunity to do some early reading of the interviews and was terrified by the amount of information. I've also decided to use Jonathan Smith's IPA, it's psychological, modest and well structure.

Even though the interview is restrictive in what it allows me to look for - there are a number of issues which I think are important. As I remember from the interviews mothers get quite a bad report, whilst the fathers, especially for the women seem to have been really good attachment figures. I'm not sure father's are over idealised, and whether mothers like mine were busy holding the ship together whilst dad's were out working. Anyhow, it's interesting that they still hold their mother's as cold.

Some of the issues about being in the army and homosexuality seem important, but they feel like news of the world headlines...I think the level of analysis needs to be deep than that. I'm also reading behind the lines, building something myself from my interpretation of the meaning (the sense they make of) their experiences. Relationships do come into it, but how they reflect on being in care and this other issue emerging about keeping emotions to oneself. It's not true for all but some do appear to have had a really rough time with so called friends at school, maybe that's why the kept themselves to themselves. It also fits with the data on them at 16 - not getting on well with peers. I find the continued self containment quite sad.

November 26th, 1998

I've got a good idea where the introduction and method are going now. I'm going to start writing after Christmas. The data is slow, slow, slow...reading takes hours and I still don't know whether I'm getting enough richness out of the data. Goodness knows how I'm going to condense all this into 20,000 words. Delinquency rationalised by participants because of emotional problems, appears to be coming up. It may be news of the world, but to find a third having severe behavioural problems is interesting. I'm a little lost on this business of meaning. The hermeneutics has made it all fit into place - I really think I've got to give a bloody good rationale for this qualitative process. I remain skeptical.

February 12th, 1999

I'm struck by how people seem to know they were supposed to have a bad time having been in the children's homes. It's almost like a myth...me trying to see it objectively...it's like a reality of spoken truth exists that negative early experience leads to later problems, almost as though people had read Bowlby's work. I think this will be an important theme, I'll continue to look for further evidence to support my ideas.

April 1st, 1999

Only a few months to go. I've now finished a draft of the introduction and what I've called the philosophy chapter. IPA is good, I convinced by its modesty.

There is a lot of dead wood in the individual coding sheets. Some people appear to say very little. I've still got a few more to do. However I've found something very interesting which I think is about people having to prove themselves to someone, I don't know. They do it in relationships and in achievements. But it's really striking how it is all so unachievable. It's sad. I wonder if I'm like that.

May 9th, 1999

The themes are really falling into place. Some cannot be supported by many of the people, but I think there's enough. The amount of information is overwhelming. I could do with a football field to spread the paper out on. Anyhow the coding system seems to be working well and I've refined this in the methods section now.

The themes I think which justify writing up are: parents, early impact of care, friends and social isolation, emotional self-containment, delinquency with emotional problems and this rather odd one about proving oneself. I've got till June 6th to finish this...

Appendix G

**CASE: 0316 illustration of method of analysis for 'self-containment'
including pages 10, 16 - 17 and 28 - 29 only.**

457 family, and they were really nice people, lovely people they were Sue and Arthur, and
458 they live in Ilford, and I go and see em, when ever I'm about and that, you know,
459 where at, you know, they're great, I mean I think of them as my second parents you
460 know, but I mean that relationship got really fucked up 'cos I mean, I moved in they
461 had a daughter, and like six months after I moved in with them, they found out she
462 had cancer and she died the Christmas before my 18th birthday so I lived with them
463 from when I was 13 to 18 and four of those years their daughter was dying o' cancer,
464 and like I, looking back now, I think well, you know, why didn't Social Services take
465 me out and put me somewhere else, 'cos I thought, but then I dunnow, 'cos I mean it's
466 not, I mean I can't see really the good of putting a kid into care and putting them with
467 a family and they then find out their daughter's got cancer and then, I, I had to live and
468 sort of deal all through that really. I mean they did very well, I mean they were good
469 by me but in the end it was very much, I was very much shut out by my foster Mum,
470 ended up like a real figure of hate for her, dunnow why, just how things go, we get on
471 well now, but she just lost the plot, I mean her daughter you know its understandable
472 but like all her anger ended up being taken out on me and then my 18th birthday, she
473 put everything that I owned in bin-bags and put them on the doorstep (mm) so
474 {pause} the like she died on, the daughter 'cos really she died on New Years Day and
475 then I was 18 in May and those few months up to then 'cos that's when the care order
476 was and like, and then after I'd gone, they sold up four months later and moved back
477 to London (right) [mm] so I just got worse really (subject laughs) (mmm)
478 everything sort of, but you know, so I dunnow, that's why I got no time for people
479 who can't you know (yeah) phh, people are too weak and I can't bother with people
480 who come round and fff, and get in me face and you know, [alright then] I say get on
481 with your life. You know, there's people starving to death you know, and you got a
482 roof over your head and all you can do is come and hassle me sort of, jog on...huh
483 y'know.

Family
Breakdown

Self Contained

Repetition.

484
485 So when talking a bit about your Dad, you also described him as an
486 authoritarian, are there any sort of memories or incidents that make you think of
487 that...to describe the relationship?

488
489 No just in the way that I mean, I'd never get any leaway as such, I mean like I knew
490 {pause} I had to do my homework (right) and when I started getting homework,
491 seriously I knew he'd check it and if it wasn't right, I'd have to do it again, which I
492 thought was wrong and I look back now and I still think it was wrong because it
493 wasn't his job to mark (mmm) my homework (mmm) it's the teachers, you know and
494 the homework is for me to do and if I get it wrong it's for me to come back and if I'm
495 you know doing it and then finally getting it right but not understanding how it was
496 done, it's no good going in and like thinking its done and like still not knowing how
497 I've done it, but so I thought it was wrong looking back, at the time I thought it was a
498 bit wrong, you know and that that was a big bone of contention with us really is when
499 he started getting involved in my homework (right) but that you know he was sort of
500 and that really did rankle me in the end, it really started to piss me off (mmm) a lot, so
501 in that way I mean I knew my homework had to be done before I could do anything
502 else, you know and I knew I had to wait for him to check it you know, and you know
503 what it's like you're kid, you know you, even if you got twenty minutes before your in
504 time, fifteen minutes you're gonna run up to the playing field, run with your mates for
505 five minutes and run home, you know, you know you're gonna get but, as a Father he
506 could never understand these sort of things, and like, things that I'd have to do my
507 homework and I always remember things that, you know he'd check it and I'd know

Father/Son
Ex not
T.

763 [mm] I never used to have like spoilt tantrums so the only time really I'd have to go
764 for comfort was if I'd actually hurt myself really (mm) so and then it'd be because I'd
765 cut my finger or bruised myself, then obviously like the nearest parent picks you up
766 don't they? (mm) so I'm not saying my Dad wouldn't do that, but I mean if I needed
767 a plaster, I mean obviously my Dad'd pass me over to Mother to sort of sort it out, but
768 you know, 'cos (laughs) Mother was a nurse, so I mean obviously it would go
769 without saying in the house that any cuts and bruises my Mother would deal with em,
770 because she was a nurse, so you know it was just [yes sure] how it'd be so

771
772 So when you say you were upset emotionally, do you remember what you'd do,
773 or can you think of a specific times that ...

774
775 No except for... I mean, No when I got to the point when all that happened, I started
776 going wonky, I mean, when I got upset emotionally, I was just hurting them as much
777 as I could, and so I wasn't looking for comfort, I'd just be 'orrible and then run away
778 or (mm) you know, so in those days, so the only things I can think of about comfort
779 wise is like I say is if I fell over and hurt myself [mm] or whatever but not, I 'spose I
780 didn't really need that comfort any, I didn't really need comforting, 'cos I always felt
781 secure and, I dunnow, I was pretty well adjusted sort of kid, d'you know what I mean,
782 I think, you know, I never felt sort of insecure in a way that I'd have to go and like
783 hang on to my Mother's skirt and (mm) you know I was never really shy, I wasn't
784 really {{...2 secs}} (mm) you know I think I was pretty all round, pretty well adjusted I
785 think, you know, credit for that goes to them.

Self-contained

786
787 Yeah, sure, so when you say you were hurt physically, do you have any memories
788 or specific instances when that was the case, what would you do...? I mean
789 you've touched on it before...

790
791 Well I knew I'd, I mean if I was ever hurt or I was all bleeding or anything like that, I
792 knew I'd just go to my Mum and she'd sort it out, so I'd just go to my Mum I 'spose
793 (mm) but if I need [Are there any particular times that stand out...?] No, I mean
794 there's times I remember you know, cutting my head open and things like that, I mean
795 I used to sleepwalk (mm) quite a lot, so I'd quite often fall down stairs, things like
796 that, an' I used to do some funny things actually sleepwalking, (subject laughs) jumped
797 out of a window, broke me arm and cut myself all up an' [while sleepwalking?] Well I
798 had a nightmare, I dreamt there was a bomb in the room so I jumped out of the
799 window, {{1 sec}} but I used to have some f, I used to have dreams that people were
800 chasing me and I used to run away, an' they say you never hurt yourself when you're
801 sleepwalking, but that's crap, 'cos generally when you're sleepwalking, you're sort of
802 half awake, and where you fall down something its not because you don't know its
803 there, it's because you're disorientated (mm) like you'd be looking for the bathroom
804 but not sort of one eye open but I'd be conscious that I'll be, I'll be conscious I was
805 trying to find the bathroom, so an' I'd be in the wardrobe or something,, I'd sort of
806 wake up, d'you know that sort of thing, so you're sort of in a semi state of
807 consciousness, but you still got no control over yourself [yeah I know] so... its funny
808 but {slight pause} No, so I dunnow really, just things like that really, I mean I
809 remember coming home one time, I'd cut my head open but I can't really remember
810 what happened, I mean I'd just know I'd go to my Mum and she'd sort it out (mm)
811 you know

? Insecurity.

812
813 Were you ever ill, when you were little?

814

815 No, I was always very very healthy, I never had a filling till I was 15, but then a lot of
816 that I think is 'cos my parents like, they, they never ss, I never like had loads of coca
817 cola, I mean things that were more sort of a treat, you see, which you, which was good
818 because you grow up appreciating things (mm) in a way, so I mean like I'd get to
h. 819 drink coca cola if we had a picnic or someing, but all the time it was like Ribena or
820 you know healthy things, orange squash, I mean my parents are vegetarian, [mm] and
821 I could remember them turning vegetarian and it wasn't any, you know they're no, sort
822 of, I mean they're vegetarian because they just, they're not va vegans or anything like
823 that, they don't eat any meat or fish, they just stopped eating meat 'cos they didn't
824 really like it and felt they didn't need it in their diet, an' they probably felt it was
825 healthier and not to, and they're perfectly happy being vegetarian but, [yeah] I mean I
826 remember like a couple of times they'd been round someone's and, you know they
827 hadn't realised they were vegetarian or they forgot to tell them or sommat, and its, I
828 mean remember one time a few years ago, my Mother telling me saying that they went
829 round someone's and they cooked like roast lamb. Now my parents won't sit there
830 and say "Sorry, we're vegetarian" they'll sit there and eat it, you see, 'cos I mean
831 they'll eat al the vegetables and maybe like not eat much of the meat, but I mean they'd
832 still eat a bit to be polite, (laughs) cos its never like, its not an issue like Oh I can't eat
833 (subject reaches as tho to vomit) meat, you know, 'cos they used to, they just decided
834 not to, because that was the way they wanted to go (mm) so, I dunnow.

835

836 Do you remember erm, the first time that you were separated from your parents?
837 Do you remember the first time that that happened?

838

839 Mm, no, I mean I used to go and stay {{...2 secs}} with my Aunt in Essex probably
840 once a year (mm) for a week, {pause} that sort of thing [... How was, how did y,
841 did you respond?] Well its obviously it was just, I mean to me it was an adventure,
842 it was exciting wasn't it, so you know going, I mean I had two cousins, both {slight
843 pause} girls, they had horses, {pause} that sort of thing, so I mean it was different, it
844 was fun, it was family I couldn't. I don't know, I mean I was never really, 'cos I was
845 never really that I mean like I say, I was never that sort of {{ 1 secs}} loving or close
846 really, but although it was loving, but not in the smothering way, I was never, I don't
847 know, I was always sort of, I 'spose I could stand on my, I could deal with situations
848 better and like, I'd go away I wouldn't get homesick {hesitation} really as such maybe,
849 but sometimes I would but, 'cos I used to wet the bed as well (mm) fer, I don't know
850 how long it went on, but it did go on for quite a while {pause} but, 'cos I think me
851 and my brother stopped wetting the bed about the same time and (laughingly) he was
852 five years younger than me, (mm) but no, so I mean I don't know, I mean that was
853 probably because, I don't know why.

854

855 Do you remember how your parents responded to tho, to those sort of
856 separations?

857

858 No, 'cos I mean they, I don't know, I mean the only real separations was when I got
859 put into care [yes] I mean I went away on like the odd sort of adventure weeks, or
860 school trips that sort of thing but I mean, {slight pause} at that age, something like
861 that was never, I mean my parents were always both about all the time, so it wasn't
862 like it was a one-parent family or anything so, I 'spose I was used to life and that was
863 my life and to me to get away, something was an adventure to me, so I never reas, I
864 was never really sort of homesick as such 'cos I knew I was going home (mm) and I

Self
Contained

Disturbed?

1374 honest person, I lie and I thief, I steal, I've done a lot of things that I'm not proud of
 1375 things like that, in that way I'm dishonest, but when it comes to people, I'm very
 1376 straight and very honest and if someone's isn't straight with me, {slight pause} I can't
 1377 be bothered with 'em, they're out, d'you what I mean, I mean I'm a sort of person, like
 1378 some people I see some people and they're like together and they have, they got a
 1379 relationship and they're both having affairs, and I look at that and I think well (prrr)
 1380 there's no point being together you got no commitment to each other, and once the
 1381 commitment's gone there's no point in staying together. I'm the sort of person, if I
 1382 found out my girlfriend had been unfaithful, {...2 secs} that'd be it. Cut and dried.
 1383 (pht) you know I don't, in that way I'm a lot colder, harder. I expect {...2 secs}
 1384 what I give and that's like.. you know, I mean I won't go shagging behind my
 1385 girlfriend's back and I wouldn't expect her to and if she did it to me {...2 secs} that'd
 1386 be it (mm) boomf... done. [thinking about] thankfully it's not something that's
 1387 happened to me, but it has happened to me but, and it wasn't very nice, but you just
 1388 move on, but, I don't suffer things like that I just, I don't know, I don't like people
 1389 who lie, so if someone's whose got somink I can't stand it if they lie to me, if their
 1390 honest with me and say "look," you know blah blah for this that and the other, I'd say
 1391 fair enough I respect the fact that they told me, you know, and I'd deal with it from
 1392 then, but if they lie about it and then I find out I s'ink, jerking me off, sod off I don't
 1393 need yer, d'you know what I mean, I think I I expect I think I expect a lot {{1 sec}}
 1394 from relationships, but not a lot but I mean I got a really good relationship now, its
 1395 great, fine, but I think {pause} I have my mark, I don't know I have my boundaries
 1396 and they're very cut and dried and like I'll give unconditionally everything, {pause} but
 1397 as soon as you like abuse that, that's it, (mm) gone, I'm not gonna hang about, I'm
 1398 not going to talk it through, I'm not gonna say Oh let's do it again, alright, you're
 1399 sorry, let's see if we can get over this maybe, 'cos I know that I won't because I feel
 1400 rejected and once I got that rejection I know I can never get that {slight pause} back
 1401 (yes) so I won't bother trying. {...2 secs} so I mean that, that's the only thing I can
 1402 say really that I know consciously affects me maybe (Yeah, sure) but then a lot of
 1403 that's to do with different things (Yeah) {2 secs} trusting people, it's funny, because of
 1404 all my, I always thought that I wouldn't trust people but, {pause} because of all this
 1405 shit I had, have had and that, I find even now I still trust people (laughs) I se, in some
 1406 ways its bad, but I mean I always give everyone a break, I mean someone, I mean
 1407 someone can come to me and say like you Oh sh er she's this, she's that, she's, I won't
 1408 take any notice, so I don't care, you know and I'll meet you and I'll take you as I find
 1409 you, you know in the back of my mind people say Oh yeah watch her, don't leave your
 1410 wallet on the table" and you go out, and in the back of my mind I wouldn't leave my
 1411 wallet on the table but I wouldn't, you know, but as soon as you did something that
 1412 someone'd said you'd do, I think, fair enough she had a chance. I wouldn't see it as
 1413 like Oh, they sit and say "I told you so" I'd see it as like well everyone deserves a
 1414 chance, I've fucked up so many times {slight pause} and people have given me
 1415 chances, everyone deserves a chance, but if that person like, if then nicked my wallet,
 1416 I'd think, well you're not going to get it right with me, so I let you move down the
 1417 road, d'you know what I mean, and see if you sort it out yourself somewhere else, so
 1418but.

1419
 1420 So when you say, looking back, I mean we'll move on a little bit between, {slight
 1421 pause} say between childhood and your adult years, how did your relationship
 1422 with your parent change, or did it change, really sort of around ...?
 1423

Rejection?

Self-contained



1424 I mean obviously it changed when I went back into care, and from then on there was
1425 big distance really, we had a lot of problems. The only time I really went to them was
1426 if I needed someink but you know I knew they'd give or whatever, but it wasn't that
1427 I'd go round and say I want, you know, but I mean things far as, you know I always
1428 knew however things were I could always go to them for help and that's one thing that
1429 has been all through the years, I've always been able go thru them for help, (mmm) if
1430 ever I've been in trouble like, I mean I wouldn't go to my Mum and say anything about
1431 the police, or anything like that, but I mean, financially anything like that, you know, if
1432 I had no where else to turn to, I would know and I could always turn to them and I
1433 always have been able to {slight pause} but like I say the relationship went really bad
1434 now I got to 18 like and then there was all that stuff, y'know Katrina died and all that
1435 and I was sort of (phhh) you know a bit blown out really, and 18 and I was like all my
1436 belongings was in a (slight hesitation) bin bags and living in a bed-sit (mm) {...1
1437 sec}} and that was sort of, so from then on my relationship with my parents was only
1438 when I needed something really as such and until I'd dealt with the whole thing that
1439 had gone on, [so how o old were you when you, that relationship st, started to get
1440 better with them?] When I told them (breathes out) [around 25] No younger than
1441 that, I was probably about 22, 23 at the very oldest, about 22-(breathes in) 23 'cos it
1442 took me a long time to tell them (yes) 'cos I really wanted to tell 'em because, I knew
1443 as soon as I told them they'd understand you see, and I knew that would right
1444 everything, but on the other side of it I didn't want to tell them 'cos I knew how much
1445 it would hurt them (mm) so on the other side of it I was trying to weigh up, you know,
1446 which is going to hurt them more, telling them that or would it hurt them less
1447 (hesitatingly) {... 2 secs}} but knowing hurting them but then, and, you know, I
1448 made the right decision by telling them I know that, you know, now. But for a long
1449 time I weighed up, you know, I'd have been you know, I mean I'd have quite happily
1450 gone on like had a shit relationship, never spoken to them again, if I decided it was
1451 best for me not to tell them because, the only reason I wouldn't tell them is because I
1452 didn't want to hurt them you see, and I thought am I going to hurt them more by, or is
1453 it gonna? And I weighed it up and I thought No, you know, think of yourself, and I
1454 thought I got to get it out myself and I thought they're gonna want to know and I
1455 thought I owe it to them, because it's the explanation like, {slight pause} it was funny
1456 from then on, everything changed, you know, 'cos the minute you see, straight away
1457 boomf it all came back and you can see it ticking over (end of tape 1 side 2)

1458
1459 The next question that is, what is your relationship like with your parents now?
1460 What's..

1461
1462 Good [the current ...?] Good, I mean you know like, I mean they'd buy me new
1463 bedroom carpet whenever I need, borrow me ladders and Dad'd bring em round, you
1464 know, he'll 'elp me I find him still at times I want to keep him at arm's length but
1465 that's mainly because things in my life that I don't want him to see (mmm) {...slight
1466 pause}} and its like, {pause} you know, so I mean I keep him at arms length at a
1467 certain way like it's, they know, I mean they'd never come and call round on me {...1
1468 sec}} just knock {pause} on the door, 'cos they know I wouldn't be happy to see
1469 them, not not happy, but I mean, the thing is, I mean I might be sitting at home
1470 smoking a joint or something (mm) you see, that that, that reason, no other reason you
1471 see, they're they're, I don't know what conclusions they draw but (subject laughs) but
1472 I like my privacy, I'm a very private person sometimes, I really, {pause} I get very
1473 funny about my privacy, there's times, I'm not manic depressive, but there's times {...1
1474 sec}} I go into myself a bit, but I don't get depressed I mean I'm sitting here, like for

↑ Rx with
parents

Adult
Parental
Rel, at
a distance.

Self-
contained

Appendix: H

15 individual participant data collection and coding forms

Case 0316 - presented as the first participant

Case 0317 - study validation presented as second participant

Adoption Study - Data Coding Form

| | |
|--|---|
| Transcript Number: 0316 | Gender: Male. |
| Adjectives Mother: | Adjectives Father: |
| 1 Caring | 1 Strict |
| 2 Intelligent | 2 Authoritarian. |
| 3 Mature. | 3 Christian. |
| 4 Loving | 4 Honest. |
| 5 Moral. | 5 Fair |
| Themes | Citation (page and line number) |
| Behavioral problems "a bit unruly" in adolescence. | (1, 37) (2, 89) (3, 128) (9, 442) |
| Good sibling relationship | (1, 36) |
| Money orientated - family | (1, 46) (2, 72) |
| Abuse - Kept it to himself. | (2, 89). (3, 103) (9, 965 →) (37, 1870) |
| Resolved difficulties during early adulthood with adopt. parents | (2, 100) |
| Adoption - Impact on emotional difficulties? | (3, 123) |
| Parents caring, supportive + encouraging, but "firm." | (3, 148) (5, 211) (8, 364) (9, 409) (9, 423) |
| Guilt for hurting parents. | (12, 577) |
| Attachment to parents | (12, 590) (15, 717 →) (29, 1442) |
| Self-contained - | (16, 781), (10, 469) (17, 847 →) (28, 1340 →) (29, 1472) |
| Justification + explanation for why he rejected his parents. | (19, 917 →). |
| Early childhood insecurity - the dark - bed wetting: Blamed Adoption | (20, 986 →) |
| Grown-up to be cynical | (27, 1346) |
| Impact of new baby - 2nd biol. family member | (31, 1538) |

Adoption Study - Data Coding Form

L. for Validation

| | |
|--|--|
| Transcript Number: 0317 | Gender: Male |
| Adjectives Mother: | Adjectives Father: |
| 1 Rebellious (hmm) | 1 strict |
| 2 Boring | 2 always right |
| 3 Soft touch | 3 knowledgeable |
| 4 Nosy | 4 fair & |
| 5 DO Gooder | 5 caring |
| Themes | Citation (page and line number) |
| Parents careers significant at home, difficult rx | (1,31) (6,260) (6,281) |
| Socially isolated from friends | (3,112) |
| Boundaries strict at home but sp. rebellious / beh? | (4,167) |
| self-containment, being a man, emotionally contained | (12,579) (13,628) (15,695) |
| Socially self contained | (16,753) (22,1070) |
| Attachment to parents? (Homesick) | (13,614) (12,557) |
| Ability to manage emotions | (13,628) (22,1045) (Money) (24,1156) (27,1275) |
| Adoption + early care considered a set back | (19,905) |
| Parental rx improved in adulthood. | (23,1122) |
| Socially withdrawn from others. | (16,753) (22,1070) |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |

Adoption Study - Data Coding Form

[illegible]

Adoption Study - Data Coding Form

| | |
|---|--|
| Transcript Number: 0903 2. | Gender: Female (with child) |
| Adjectives Mother: | Adjectives Father: |
| 1 Caring sort | 1 Strict |
| 2 Loving | 2 Always there for you. |
| 3 Always there | 3 |
| 4 Strict | 4 |
| 5 | 5 |
| Themes | Citation (page and line number) |
| Perception of being disturbed, bad | (18, 865); (26, 1254) |
| Attribution of badness being about adoption | (17, 782); (17, 810) |
| Perception of being a commodity rather than a person | (18, 873) |
| Being resourceful in the face of isolation | (21, 1019); (10, 468); (10, 482) |
| Intense relationships with people | (22, 1065); (25, 1186) (13, 602) |
| Peer relationships very poor | (4, 173); (11, 527); (12, 548) |
| Ambivalent about being a parent | (23, 1105); (18, 831) |
| Arguments with parents who were strict | (2, 89); 9(422); (9, 437) |
| Claustraphobic home environment | (5, 219); (5, 232) |
| Relationship generally with Mo + fa. | (4, 147); (6, 263); (7, 333) (8, 348); (9, 396) |
| In trouble with police related to boyfriends. | (8, 380) (9, 433) |
| Behavioural problems? related to early experience in care | (9, 425) |
| | |
| | |

Adoption Study - Data Coding Form

* Restored *

| Transcript Number: 0502 | Gender: |
|---|--|
| Adjectives Mother. | Adjectives Father |
| 1 No-one was | 1 Vague |
| 2 his step Mo. | 2 Absent. |
| 3 Resentment | 3 |
| 4 Non-existent. | 4 |
| 5 wicked witch. | 5 |
| Themes | Citation (page and line number) |
| Ethnicity not accepted - hence adoption | (6, 3) |
| Absent father | (6, 25) (8, 10) (9, 12) (22, 14) |
| Poor rx. with step-mother | (6, 35) (8, 20) (13, 15) (17, 6) |
| Isolated & self-contained emotionally w/ M | (6, 32) (15, 12) (15, 26) (16, 15) (20, 10) (27, 8) 18 |
| Heavily involved in structured organisations outside family | (6, 31). |
| Close to paternal grandparents | (7, 10) (22, 21) |
| Like social relationships with peers. | (19, 15) |
| Cruelty & rejection from Mo & Mat. Gm → Isolation | (22, 17) |
| Generous & giving | (28, 18) |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |
| | |

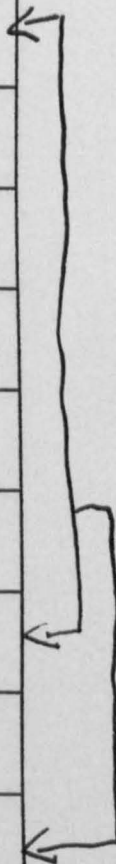
—

Adoption Study - Data Coding Form

"restored!"

| | |
|--|---|
| Transcript Number: 1102 | Gender: Male |
| Adjectives Mother: | Adjectives Father: |
| 1 caring | 1 |
| 2 happy | 2 N/A. |
| 3 did not get to know her | 3 |
| 4 proud. | 4 |
| 5 | 5 |
| Themes | Citation (page and line number) |
| Witness violence within family | (3,138) |
| Mo. has multiple partners | (3,148) |
| Poor family | (5,215) (15,756) |
| Self-sufficient - self contained | (5,229) (13,656) (13,688) (17,885) (26,1340) (28,1457) |
| Surrogate family, older people influential | (5,253) (6,280) |
| Large family - highly influential, close & caring | (7,361) |
| A good Mo. but not close | (8,424) |
| Developed close relationship with step-father. | (12,616) VBI |
| Responsible for caring for the younger children | (14,721) (15,765) |
| Selective in choice of friends & trusting people* | (17,890) (23,1220) (24,1231) |
| Experience of a large number of deaths. | (19,967) - friend - (20,1015) - Mo. |
| Impact of early institutionalization - self discipline | (27,1395) |
| Fought for right to stand proud + independent | (17,885) |
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Adoption Study - Data Coding Form

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|--|--|
| Transcript Number: 0310 | Gender: Female |
| Adjectives Mother | Adjectives Father |
| 1 Hate | 1 Laughing |
| 2 Roaring / Shouting | 2 Walking |
| 3 Love | 3 Joking |
| 4 Helping | 4 Roaring |
| 5 | 5 Gentle |
| Themes | Citation (page and line number) |
| Ambivalent relationship with Mother "a commodity" | (2,97) (3,117) (12,574) (15,707) (4,170) |
| Close & intimate relationship with father | (2,99) (2,170) (6,253) (6,286) (7,300) |
| Poor relationships, particularly with men - victimised | (3,105) (10,478) (11,517) (17,883) |
| Runaway - self contained + self-sufficient, shut self away | (4,156) (4,199) (5,205) (7,341) |
| Close relationship to dominant sister - Adopted also. | (9,403) (10,452) |
| Safety - proximity to home throughout life. | (9,418) |
| Mental health problems, anxiety, trauma. | (10,471) (11,523) |
| Experience of violent deaths | (13,637) (14,650) |
| Impact of adoption - particularly in relation to Mo. | (17,798) |
| Difficult period during adolescence sexuality + (-) peer relations | (4,156) (4,199) (5,205) (7,341) (10,471) (13,637) (14,650) |
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Adoption Study - Data Coding Form

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|--|--|
| Transcript Number: 0301 (01) | Gender: Male |
| Adjectives Mother: | Adjectives Father: |
| 1 love | 1 Teaching |
| 2 strict | 2 leadership |
| 3 polite | 3 helpful |
| 4 open | 4 determined |
| 5 | 5 |
| Themes | Citation (page and line number) |
| Discovered details about adoption by chance | (1, 24) |
| Early close relationship to adoptive parents | (1, 36) (10, 475) (4, 148) |
| Perceived himself a "commodity" in adoption process | (1, 32) |
| The "adoption" attracted certain privileges | (12, 93) |
| Socially isolated memories | (3, 102) (3, 129). (13, 628) |
| 'Love' = ownership like a 'thing' - Show him off. | (4, 193) |
| Firm boundaries by parents (fa. in the army also). | (5, 216) |
| Difficult behavior which raised qs. over adoption - | (11, 489-) |
| When upset would isolate himself | (11, 496) |
| Resonant in not being afraid of coping vis-a-vis peers | (13, 613) |
| Adoptive parents as role models | (15, 707) (8, 345) (9, 397) |
| Adoption "obvious" impact - but neutral. | (16, 732) |
| Firm boundaries = well adjusted | (19, 888) (8, 212) (22, 1026) (3, 121) (20, 922-) (21, 972) |
| Intensity of relationships - (Met wife at 19. She is. & married) | (21, 481-) Exaggerated Rx. |
| Pre-adoption = No bad effect | (24, 1126) |

Adoption Study - Data Coding Form

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Adoption Study - Data Coding Form

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Adoption Study - Data Coding Form

| | |
|--|--|
| Transcript Number: 0318 | Gender: Male |
| Adjectives Mother | Adjectives Father |
| 1 dishonesty | 1 Disappointment |
| 2 regret | 2 Hen pecked |
| 3 restricted | 3 Missed something |
| 4 cared for | 4 Sexuality. |
| 5 not quite good enough. | 5 Violence. |
| Themes | Citation (page and line number) |
| Delinquent period during late adolescence / anger. | (2,27) (30,30) |
| Attributes difficulty in getting with adoptive family | (4,17) |
| Turbulent relationship with adoptive mother | (6,24) (7,16) (14,25) |
| Filling life with excellence + accomplishment | (5,17) (6,20) (7,23) (10,14) (23,15) (33,3) |
| Isolated from acceptance within critical family / self-reliant | (8,13) (12,25) |
| Lost opportunity to share close relationship with father | (10,15) (10,23) (11,34) (14,30) |
| Violence between parents + towards subject | (11,21) (17,15-35) (21,9) |
| Emotionally unable to share / express feelings - Anger inappro | (13,4) (13,15) |
| Sexually assaulted | (19,19) |
| Lost childhood "I was never a child" | (18 , 20, 20) |
| Sexuality - Has a number of children but gay means unable to be parent | (27,20) rejection from family (30,30) |
| Does <u>not</u> attribute influence of early yrs on development | (29,10) |
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IPA Theme Analysis - Master List

| Theme: | Transcripts: |
|---|---|
| 1. Meaning given to the impact of early institutionalisation and subsequent integration into families. Perception that difficulties experienced in life (emotional/behavioural problems) can be attributed to a belief that early experience was detrimental. Whilst others perceive early experience as having no impact. | 0318, 0306, 1102, 0322, 0309, 0316, 0317, 0301, 0903, 0310, 0902, 0502, 0313. |
| 2. Meaning given to relationships with parents | sub-themes |
| 2a. Relationship with mothers: divided perceptions: relationship turbulent and difficult, perceived as commodities, parented but not loved - characterised as cold; alternatively a sense that they were loved and cared for - characterised as warm. | 0318, 1102, 0311, 0903, 0502, 0309, 0313, 0901, 0902, 0310, 0301, 0317, 0306, 0316, 0322, |
| 2b. Relationship with fathers: divided perceptions: relationships good and close, interested and provider of opportunities, acute for some women in particular; alternatively some fathers absent and not child centred, either too busy to be involved or actively not interested in child rearing | 0318, 1102, 0311, 0903, 0502, 0309, 0313, 0901, 0902, 0310, 0301, 0317, 0306, 0316, 0322, |
| 2c. Restoration of relationship with parents in early adulthood, helped by the arrival of grand children and a distance in personal living space. | 0316, 0317, 0313, 0318 |
| 3. Proving self in relation to the world, privately ambitious in relation to family life, intense intimate relationships, careers - with a sense for some that full accomplishment is unachievable. Almost as though seeking answers to themselves in relation to the world in which they live. Some aspects of this process were creative and productive. Others were destructive, particularly with reference to relationships. | 0318, 0903, 0311, 0310, 0301, 0316, 1102, 0901, 0502 |
| 4. Self contained and self reliant, coping with emotional distress in isolation. | 0316, 0322, 0902, 0903, 1102, 0310, 0301, 0317, 0306, 0502, 0311, 0309, 0318 |
| 5. Difficult social relationships with peer group, experiences of bullying and being aggressive to others. Continuity into adulthood, protected against being hurt, not having social skills, hence preferring social isolation. | 0902, 0317, 0903, 0310, 0313, 0311, 0901, 0322, 1102, 0306 |
| 6. Period of delinquency during adolescence: joining anti-social groups, abrupt ending to life with family at home, difficulties with the police. Perception that behavioural problems were a consequence of emotional difficulties following trauma out of the home, or because of gradual breakdown in family life. | 0903, 0318, 0313, 0310, 0316 |

IPA Theme: ONE

| Theme: 1. Impact of early institutionalisation and care | Transcript(s): | Citation (page and line): |
|--|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| Experienced considerable difficulty in adjusting to 'normal family life' following children's home | 0318 | 4,17 |
| Serious development problems related to forgotten period during institutionalisation | 0902 | 3,114 |
| Developmental problems happened as a result of being in institution, attributed by 0903 and by parents, adoption 'thrown in parents face | 0903 | 18,865; 26,1254; 17,782; 2,89 |
| Needed constant reassurance that they were loved following their experience of time in institution | 0313 | 23,47; 23,30; 24,1 |
| Lost opportunity for bonding as a result of time spent in institution, perhaps left her selfish | 0310 | 17,798 |
| Perception of self as commodity or object, as part of a mechanical process in adoption | 0301 | 1,32; 2,93; 4,193 |
| Used adoption and early experience of institutionalisation to punish parents | 0306 | 17,42 |
| Explicit that adoption from care was a significant set back | 0317 | 19,905 |
| Adoption process 'screwed it up', but did not attribute blame to anyone specifically | 0316 | 3,123; 20,986 |
| Perception of self as bad child, not open with affection, because of early institutionalisation and adoption | 0322 | 2,72; 3,144; 4,150; 14,657 |
| Placed in institution because of mixed race and subsequently never accepted because of this | 0502 | 6,3 |
| Adoption process did not have any impact on subsequent development | 0309 | 30,9; 30,15 |
| Experienced experience in care a positive: preparation for life and discipline | 1102 | 27,1395 |

IPA Theme: TWO.A

| Theme: 2a Relationship with Mother | Transcript(s): | Citation (page and line): |
|--|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| Turbulent relationship with mother, trust, rowing and viewed as a commodity, perception that mother regretted choice | 0318 | 6,24; 7,16; 11,21; 17,15; 21,9 |
| Mother wishes to show a positive view to the world of her child, but self felt like a commodity to be shown off | 0310 | 15,707; 3,117 |
| Self experienced as a commodity to be shown off, caring but unable to provide intimacy | 0903 | 6, 263; 18,873 |
| Self experienced as a commodity to be shown off, unable to talk about important things, made to do domestic work | 0313 | 2,26; 4,10 |
| Mother cold and involved mechanically in child rearing | 0311 | 4,45; 5,12 |
| Mother able to provide good physical care but a belief that they were a commodity | 0301 | 4,193 |
| Mother strict, but loving and giving | 0316 | 4,166 |
| Mother strict to child, but deferential towards father for discipline | 0317 | 4,167 |
| Mother showed intimacy through practical and concrete parenting | 0309 | 11,21 |
| Mother wanted to pretend child was own biological child, and talked to others as though her own | 0322 | 3,112 |
| A proud mother who was unable to give because of the way she was treated by men | 1102 | 3,138; 3,148; 8,424 |
| Good, warm and caring relationship with mother | 0306 | 4,25; 9,36 |
| Over idealised relationship with mother and father - very close and warm | 0901 | 3,100; 8,389; 15,697 |
| Highly turbulent and negative relationship with mother | 0902 | 5,206; 5,229 |
| Step mother highly rejecting and emotionally abusive - the witch | 0502 | 6,35; 13,15;17,6 |

Appendix J

IPA Theme: TWO.B

| Theme: 2b. Relationship with father | Transcript(s): | Citation (page and line): |
|---|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| Close relationship with father, but lost opportunity because of poor relationship with mother | 0318 | 10,15;10,23; 11,34;14,30 |
| Father described as a good teacher and a friend | 0902 | 9,401; 12,552 |
| Father busy at work and tired, but had firm limits | 0903 | 4,147; 7,333; 8,348 |
| Father naturally warm and affectionate throughout childhood | 0313 | 7,16 |
| Father absent - had nothing to do with child rearing | 0311 | 4,43; 12,14; 12, 42; 23,42 |
| Close, warm and intimate relationship with father | 0310 | 2,99; 6,253; 6,286; 7,300 |
| Father perceived as strict disciplinarian in the home | 0301 | 5,216 |
| Father daughter relationship very close, preferred to share with father | 0309 | 9,8; 10,40; 11,26 |
| Father daughter very close, brought up as though he were her own | 0322 | 3,132 |
| Strong supportive step father, a good role model and cared | 1102 | 12,616 |
| Father a vicar and absent from family life, spent time in his study | 0306 | 7,10; 7,23 |
| Somewhat over idealised with caring and supportive father | 0901 | 3,100; 8,389; 15,697 |
| Father absent and not attuned to son's early needs | 0502 | 6,25; 8,10 |
| Father strict at home and demanded high standards of behaviour | 0317 | 4,167 |
| Good relationship with father, but family breakdown in adolescence | 0316 | 3,148; 5,211; 9,409; 9,423 |

IPA Theme:TWO.C

| Theme: 2c. Reparation of relationship with parents in adulthood | Transcript(s): | Citation (page and line): |
|--|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| Having grandchild allowed parents to break the mould and develop more adult and close relationship | 0313 | 18,48; 17,36; 20,13 |
| Developed a closer relationship once able to develop own independence and live away from home, now spending good time together | 0317 | 23,1122 |
| Having disclosed early trauma to parents, received sympathy and is now able to build a closer relationship | 0316 | 29,1472 |
| Breakdown in relationship with adoptive parents has led to finding biological family and developing close family ties | 0318 | 25,38 |

Appendix J

IPA Theme: THREE

| Theme: 3. 'Proving self' in relation to others | Transcript(s): | Citation (page and line): |
|---|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Exaggerated accomplishments in music and poetry, as though proof to self | 0318 | 5,17; 6,20; 7,23; 10,14; 23,15; 33,3 |
| Over intense relationships with people as though searching for something which is not there | 0903 | 22,1065; 25,1186; 13,617 |
| Intense relationships with partners and others, searching for something | 0301 | 21,891 |
| Sought approval from cold parents, physical and in recognition | 0311 | 6,23; 7,25; 6,40 |
| Sought help professionally to make sense of why relationships are used to justify self | 0310 | 11,523 |
| Clear boundaries and expectations in interactions with others, proving self | 0316 | 28,1390 |
| Fought for everything alone to accomplish independence | 1102 | 17,885 |
| Repeated changes in career and training, searching for something they cannot find | 0901 | 6,255 |
| Joined organisations and clubs to get recognition for being able to accomplish | 0502 | 6,31 |

IPA Theme: FOUR

| Theme: 4. Emotional self containment and self reliance | Transcript(s): | Citation (page and line): |
|--|-----------------------|--|
| Isolation from family and friends leaves perception of low mood and self-containment | 0902 | 7,305 |
| Unable to express emotion when others are present | 0310 | 5,205 |
| Introverted, unable to express emotion, kept it in and did not let people close | 0311 | 16,38; 17,5; 23,21 |
| When annoyed or upset would retreat with dog | 0301 | 14,496 |
| Would retreat when upset and distressed | 0317 | 12,579; 13,628 |
| Confident being secure enough not to need support having been rejected | 0316 | 10,469; 16,780; 17,845; 28,1395; 29,1472 |
| Kept emotions to self, except for sharing with father | 0309 | 11,32; 18,6 |
| Self awareness of maturity and being alone from a young age, being secret | 0322 | 2,81; 10,448; 23,1101 |
| Left home when old enough, self sufficient, hide away to stop being hurt by others | 1102 | 5,229; 13,656; 26,1340 |
| Played alone and happy being self-contained, difficult to show emotions | 0306 | 4,30; 17,12 |
| Absent and cruel parents led to self containment of emotions | 0502 | 6,32; 15,12; 27,8 |
| Self reliant and resourceful in isolation | 0903 | 21,1019; 10,468; 10,482 |
| Isolated with emotions from critical family, self reliant | 0318 | 8,13; 12,25 |

Appendix J**IPA Theme: FIVE**

| Theme: 5. Social relationship difficulties throughout life | Transcript(s): | Citation (page and line): |
|--|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| Unable to engage in relationships with same age peers at school and in community | 0902 | 6,242; 7,289; 7,308 |
| Difficulty gaining friends at school and in the community | 0317 | 17,753; 22,1070 |
| Bullied and victimised at school, involved in fights | 0903 | 4,173; 11,527; 12,548 |
| Bullied at school | 0310 | 10,478 |
| Provocative and fighting with peers at school, unpopular | 0313 | 9,14 |
| Racial bullying at school | 0311 | 16,17; 18,14 |
| Racial bullying at school | 0901 | 11,514 |
| Bullied at school and unable to tell anyone, parents not able to help | 0322 | 10,449; 10,463 |
| Cautious and careful with friendships in order not to get hurt, unable to trust | 1102 | 17,890; 23,1220; 24,1231 |
| Being isolated from people is hard, protective, but it hurts | 0306 | 12,45 |

IPA Theme: SIX

| Theme: 6. Emotional and behavioural problems | Transcript(s): | Citation (page and line): |
|---|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| Involved with anti-social peer group, trouble with the police, typical of age and grew out of it | 0318 | 2,27; 30,30 |
| Boyfriends led her to getting into trouble with police: rationale that early trauma caused emotional problems | 0903 | 8,380 |
| Moved out of home and with in with boyfriend abruptly, always anti-being the vicar's daughter | 0313 | 17,33; 18,14; 5,38 |
| Became involved in risky sexual behaviour with anti-social peer group | 0310 | 17,833 |
| Breakdown in relationship led to care, trouble with police: rationale that CSA caused emotional difficulties | 0316 | 1,37; 3,128; 9,442 |

Appendix K

Research Audit Form

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Validation Data Coding Form

Appendix L

| | |
|--|--|
| Transcript Number: 0317 | Gender: male |
| Adjectives Mother: | Adjectives Father: |
| 1 Rebellious | 1 Strict |
| 2 Boring | 2 Always right |
| 3 Do Gooder | 3 Knowledgeable |
| 4 Soft Touch | 4 Fair |
| 5 Nosey | 5 Caring |
| Themes | Citation (page and line number) |
| Father is a strong influence | p. 1 L. 47. p8, L. 377 p9, L. 441 |
| Very little information on mother | p.1, L. 38 |
| Socially isolated as a child - by choice | p3, L. 122, p.16, L. 753 |
| Challenged parents + was rebellious | p.4, L. 187, p.3, L. 138 |
| Mother self sacrificing, did less for others | p.7, L. 312 |
| A bit of a 'sulker', used to withdraw into himself | p.12, L. 578, p.13 L. 599 p.13, L. 633 |
| Good relationship with brother | p.16, L. 778 |
| Adoption not considered important | p.19 L. 923 |
| Caring + close person | p.21. L. 1023 |
| Can't and won't look at emotions. | p.21, L. 1045, p.21, L. 1070 p.25 L. 1216, p.27 L. 1281 |
| Financially astute / severe | p.24 L. 1158 p.27 L. 1281 |
| Good relationship with his son | p.25 L. 1202 p.26, L. 1237 |
| Not interested in his biological roots | p.28, L. 1357 |
| | |

‘Adjectives’ used to describe relationship with mother

| Participant | Adjectives or phrases used to describe relationship |
|--------------------|--|
| 0318 | dishonest, regret, restricted, cared for, ‘not good enough’ |
| 0902 | turbulent, unhappy, stormy, regretful, lonely |
| 0903 | caring sort, loving, always there, strict |
| 0313 | tense, difficult, false, love, distant |
| 0311 | practical, controlled, limited, creative |
| 0310 | hate, rowing/shouting, love, helping |
| 0301 | love, strict, polite, open |
| 0317 | rebellious to, boring, soft touch, nosy, do gooder |
| 0316 | caring, intelligent, mature, loving, moral |
| 0309 | very understanding, loving, reliable, dependable, supportive |
| 0322 | difficult, supportive, strict, fair, good |
| 1102 | caring, happy, did not get to know her, proud |
| 0306 | comfortable, happy, caring, loving |
| 0901 | caring, thoughtful, appreciative, loving, non-demanding |
| 0502 | non-one, resentment, non-existent, wicked witch |

‘Adjectives’ used to describe relationship with father

| Participant | Adjectives or phrases used to describe relationship |
|--------------------|--|
| 0318 | disappointment, hen-pecked, missed something, violence |
| 0902 | friendly, helpful, wise, positive, cheerful |
| 0903 | strict, ‘always there for you’ |
| 0313 | love, protected, fun, special |
| 0311 | strict, distant, invisible, moody, authoritative |
| 0310 | laughing, joking, rowing, gentle, walking |
| 0301 | teaching leadership, helpful, determined |
| 0317 | strict, always right, knowledgeable, fair, caring |
| 0316 | strict, authoritarian, Christian, honest, fair |
| 0309 | loving, powerful, private, stubborn, generous |
| 0322 | close, firm, loving, generous, ‘get away with’ |
| 1102 | not applicable |
| 0306 | absent |
| 0901 | caring, loving, slightly inappropriate |
| 0502 | vague and absent |